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TRACT No. 85,
WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

tracts 85-91

1894-1907 c

CHARTER

— AND —

RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY,

1891-2.

PURCHASE OF THE SOCIETY'S BUILDING.

PATRONS,

LIFE MEMBERS

— AND —

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS,

1894.

CLEVELAND, O.:
LEADER PRINTING COMPANY, 146 SUPERIOR STREET,
1895.

Tracts
85-91
1894-1907

WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OFFICERS FOR 1894-95.

1626905

President.

CHARLES C. BALDWIN.

Vice-Presidents.

WILLIAM BINGHAM, WILLIAM PERRY FOGG,
JONN D. ROCKEFELLER.

Corresponding Secretary.

ALBERT L. WITHINGTON.

Treasurer,

MOSES G. WATTERSON.

Recording Secretary.

WALLACE H. CATHCART.

Librarian.

PETER NEFF.

Executive Committee.

CHARLES C. BALDWIN, A. T. BREWER,
CHARLES W. BINGHAM, STILES H. CURTISS,
HENRY C. RANNEY.

Trustees.

Term Expiring May, 1895:

AMOS TOWNSEND, PERRY H. BABCOCK, PETER M. HITCHCOCK.

Term Expiring May, 1896:

CHARLES W. BINGHAM, HENRY C. RANNEY, JAMES BARNETT.

Term Expiring May, 1897:

CHARLES C. BALDWIN, WEBB C. HAYES, STILES H. CURTISS.

Term Expiring May, 1898:

A. T. BREWER, JEPHTHA HOMER WADE, H. R. HATCH.

Term Expiring May, 1899:

HARRY A. GARFIELD, LEVI BAUDER, DAVID C. BALDWIN.

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Was first organized in May, 1867, as a branch of the Cleveland Library Association (now the Case Library), under amendments to the constitution of that Association which permit such branches to be formed and conducted with a large degree of independence.

The Society was very successful, and is very largely indebted for that success to the wise and generous conduct of the trustees of that Association and Library.

In 1892 it seemed best that the Historical Society should be organized with a separate charter.

The following is a copy of the charter. The number of incorporators was small to prevent inconvenience in obtaining a quorum at the necessary meetings.

STATE OF OHIO.

THESE ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION OF

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

Witnesseth, That we, the undersigned, all of whom are citizens of the State of Ohio, desiring to form a corporation not for profit, under the general corporation laws of said State, do hereby certify—

FIRST. The name of said corporation shall be THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SECOND. Said corporation shall be located and its principal business transacted at the City of Cleveland, in Cuyahoga County, Ohio.

THIRD. The purpose for which said corporation is formed is not profit, but is to discover, collect and preserve whatever relates to the history, biography, genealogy and antiquities of Ohio and the West; and of the people dwelling

therein, including the physical history and condition of that State; to maintain a museum and library, and to extend knowledge upon the subjects mentioned by literary meetings, by publication and by other proper means.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto set our hands, this seventh day of March, A.D. 1892.

HENRY C. RANNEY,
D. W. MANCHESTER,
AMOS TOWNSEND,
WILLIAM BINGHAM,

CHARLES C. BALDWIN,
DAVID C. BALDWIN,
PERCY W. RICE,
JAS. D. CLEVELAND,

A. T. BREWER.

THE STATE OF OHIO, }
COUNTY OF CUYAHOGA, } ss.

On this seventh day of March, A.D. 1892, personally appeared before me, the undersigned, a Notary Public within and for said County, the above named Henry C. Ranney, D. W. Manchester, Amos Townsend, William Bingham, A. T. Brewer, Charles C. Baldwin, David C. Baldwin, Percy W. Rice and Jas. D. Cleveland, who each severally acknowledged the signing of the foregoing articles of incorporation to be his free act and deed, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned.

Witness my hand and official seal, on the day and year last aforesaid.

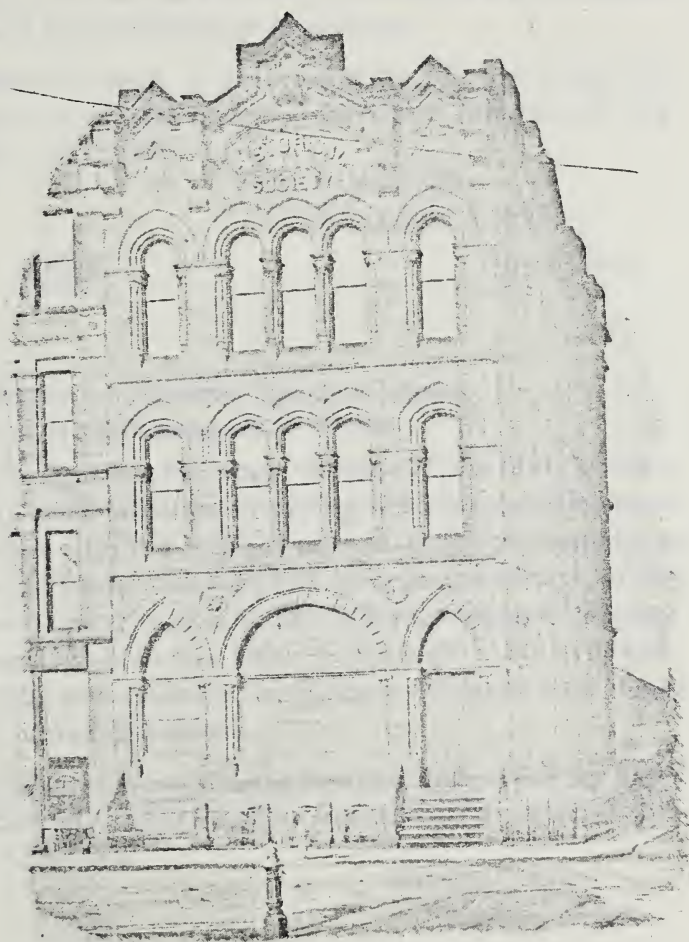
WM. K. KIDD,

Notary Public.



THE STATE OF OHIO, }
COUNTY OF CUYAHOGA. } ss.

I, Levi E. Meacham, Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, within and for the County aforesaid, do hereby certify that William K. Kidd, whose name is subscribed to the forgoing acknowledgment as a Notary Public, was, at the date



thereof, a Notary Public in and for said County, duly commissioned and qualified, and authorized as such to take said acknowledgment; and further, that I am well acquainted with his hand writing, and believe that the signature to said acknowledgment is genuine.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said Court, at Cleveland, this seventh day of March, A. D. 1892.

LEVI E. MEACHAM.

By CHARLES A. KUZEL,
Deputy Clerk.



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF OHIO, }
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE. }

I, Daniel J. Ryan, Secretary of State of the State of Ohio, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a copy, carefully compared by me with the original now in my legal custody as Secretary of State, and found to be true and correct, of the Articles of Incorporation of THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY filed in the office on the eighth day of March, A.D. 1892, and recorded in Volume 53, page 604, of the Records of Incorporations.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my official seal, at Columbus, the eighth day of March, A.D. 1892.

DANIEL J. RYAN,
Secretary of State.



An organization was had under this charter, and the following regulations were adopted:

REGULATIONS OF THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Special meetings of the Society may be called by the President or a majority of the Trustees, to be directed by them in writing, or by a majority of the Executive Committee of the Trustees. Notice may be given of such meeting by mail.

The time of annual meeting of the Society shall be the First Tuesday of May of each year, at 7:30 o'clock P.M., and the mode and manner of giving notice thereof may be regulated by the Trustees.

A quorum shall consist of such members as attend the meetings; but these regulations shall not be changed, nor shall its real estate be conveyed or incumbered except by the assent thereto in writing of two-thirds of the voting members, or by a majority of all such members at a meeting called for that purpose.

The Board of Trustees of this Society shall consist of fifteen Trustees to be elected by ballot, the term of office of three of whom shall expire each year, a quorum of whom shall consist of a number equal to a majority of those residing in the County of Cuyahoga.

The officers shall consist of a President, such number of Vice-Presidents as the Trustees may see fit to elect, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Biographer and a Librarian. These officers shall be elected annually by the Board of Trustees, and shall hold office until their successors are elected, save the Librarian, who shall be elected and hold office at the pleasure of the Board. Their duties may be defined and regulated at any time by the Trustees.

The Trustees may further select from their number an Executive Committee who, with the President as one of them, may act in the ordinary matters of the corporation,

under the general direction of the Board of Trustees. The Trustees and the President and Vice-Presidents shall have the qualifications of voting members of the Society. The Secretary of the Board shall also be the Secretary of the Executive Committee.

This corporation is designed as a successor to the former Western Reserve Historical Society so called, and the members and patrons of said Society are hereby and at once constituted members and patrons of this Society.

The members of this Society shall consist of annual or sustaining members, paying five dollars per annum; of life members, who pay or have paid one hundred dollars; of patrons, who have paid or shall pay at one time not less than five hundred dollars. Or the Board of Trustees may elect to the position of patron such persons as have donated at one time property which shall have cost, and the money value of which shall be, not less than five hundred dollars.

The Board of Trustees may also elect honorary members, and may elect, or authorize the Executive Committee to elect, corresponding members.

The voting members of the Association shall be the life members and the patrons.

A subscription having been made to buy the former building of the Society for Savings for the purposes of the Society, (the subscribers to which appear in the report of the committee following), on vote of the Society the purchase was made on the very generous terms offered by the Society for Savings. The price of the building was fixed at \$60,000, with deductions of \$10,000 for the perpetual lease already held by the

Society of the third story of the building, and of \$10,000, on account of the restriction as to occupancy of the building for twenty years, for business purposes.

A COPY OF THE DEED.

Know all Men by these Presents, That The Society for Savings, in the City of Cleveland, the Grantor, for the consideration of forty thousand dollars (\$40,000), received to its full satisfaction of The Western Reserve Historical Society, the Grantee, do give, grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said Grantee, its successors and assigns, the following described premises: Situated in the City of Cleveland, County of Cuyahoga, and State of Ohio, and known as being a part of original two-acre lot No. 62, beginning at a point where the north line of the Public Square (or Rockwell Street) intersects the west line of Park Place; thence north on the line of Park Place one hundred and seventeen (117) feet; thence westerly at right angles with Park Place about thirty-three and one-third ($33\frac{1}{3}$) feet to the west line of land deeded to the said Society for Savings by Emily C. Brainard and others, by deed recorded Volume 327, page 452, Cuyahoga County Records; thence southerly on said west line to the said north line of the Public Square or Rockwell Street at the southern corner of the building; thence on the north line of said Public Square easterly thirty-three (33) feet and one (1) inch, to the place of beginning.

This deed is made upon the condition that the said Grantee shall use and occupy the said premises for the uses and purposes only for which the said Western Reserve Historical Society was organized, until the end of twenty (20) years from and after the date of this conveyance, when such restriction and condition shall terminate.

In case of a violation of the above restriction, then the above described premises shall revert to the said Grantor, be the same more or less, but subject to all legal highways; *to have and to hold* the above granted and bargained premises, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, unto the said Grantee, its successors and assigns forever. And we, the said Grantor, do for ourselves and our successors and assigns, covenant with the said Grantee, its successors and assigns, that at and until the ensealing of these presents, it is well seized of the above described premises as a good and indefeasible estate in fee simple, and have good right to bargain and sell the same in manner and form as above written; that the same are *free and clear from all incumbrances* whatsoever, and that we will warrant and defend said premises with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, to the said Grantee, its successors and assigns forever, against all lawful claims and demands whatsoever.

In Witness Whereof, The said Society for Savings by its duly authorized officers, by virtue of a resolution of the trustees thereof, has hereunto set its hand and seal, the sixth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two.

THE SOCIETY FOR SAVINGS,

In the City of Cleveland.

By,

S. H. MATHER, President.

MYRON T. HERRICK, Treasurer.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of,

JAS. D. CLEVELAND,
HENRY HUMPHREYS.



THE STATE OF OHIO, }
COUNTY OF CUYAHOGA. } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for said County, personally appeared the above named Samuel H. Mather, President of the Society for Savings in the City of Cleveland, and Myron T. Herrick, Treasurer of said Society for Savings, and acknowledge that the said Society for Savings did sign and seal the foregoing instrument, by them, the said President and Treasurer, and that the same is the free act and deed of the said Society for Savings, and the free act and deed of the said officers thereof.

In Testimony Whereof, I hereunto set my hand and official seal, at Cleveland, O., this sixth day of April, A.D., 1892.

HENRY HUMPHREYS,

Notary Public.

Received for record April 6th, 1892, at 4:12 o'clock P.M.
Recorded April 16th, 1892, in Cuyahoga Records, Volume 509, page 627.

FRED SAAL, Recorder.

Entered for transfer, April 6, 1892.

A. E. AKINS, Auditor.

The Society *Resolved*, "That all the deceased and living patrons and life members of the former Western Reserve Historical Society should be placed upon the rolls of the present corporation of that name, and there retained as members thereof."

It was also *Resolved*, "That all the persons who have contributed five hundred dollars or over, to the purchase of the Society's building ought to be and are hereby declared to be

patrons of The Western Reserve Historical Society, and that all persons who have in like manner contributed one hundred dollars each to said fund, and less than five hundred dollars, ought to be, and are hereby declared to be, life members of said Society."

It was also *Resolved*, "That the Executive Committee be authorized to name and choose such honorary and corresponding members as they may think best, either from the selection of former members or otherwise."

There follows a list of patrons, life members and corresponding members.

The list of the annual or sustaining members will be subsequently published.

It would hardly be just to Hon. Amos Townsend, the chairman of the Committee on Subscription for purchase of building, not to make permanent record of his services to the Society in that connection. His plans and counsel were excellent and his amount of service in the actual canvass was only exceeded by one member of the committee. The great respect and confidence had for him by the public, made his influence strong, and he was of especial value in the larger subscriptions.

The Society is indeed fortunate in the purchase of this building—of Ohio sand-stone—very solid, substantial and fire-proof, and as centrally located as it is possible to be in Cleveland.

The subscriptions have been substantially collected, the building refitted and furnished for the use of the Society, which now occupies the whole with its museum and library.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SUBSCRIPTION FOR PURCHASE OF BUILDING.

This is the first, or almost the first, instance in which the funds to furnish a permanent and substantial fire-proof building for a historical society, have been raised by popular subscription. There were many helpers or it would not have been done.

First of all, a tribute should be given to the memory of the late Ex-President Hayes. He was, at the time of his decease, a Vice-President of the Society, and had been for years a Trustee. He had always been warmly interested in its success.

He came from Columbus to Cleveland to attend the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Society, when the enterprise was determined upon, held at the assembly room of the Board of Education, on the evening of the 19th day of June, 1891. He presided at the meeting, and his wise and earnest words in advocating the plan will not be forgotten by those who heard this, his last utterance to the Society. He, at other times, used his great influence and did not cease to exhibit the greatest interest.

The literature used in canvassing for subscriptions consisted:

1st. Of the report of the annual meeting, containing: a too brief report of the speech of President Hayes; a report of Secretary D. W. Manchester, on the history and progress of the Society; and a short address by Judge Baldwin, on "The New Methods in History," showing the relation of historical societies to the progress and education of the present day.

2nd. Of a circular and brief statement by the Chairman of this Committee; and

3rd. Of a reprinted editorial from the Cleveland *Leader*.

Those of the Committee who were most actively engaged in the work, were: C. C. Baldwin, President of the Society; H. C. Rauney, Mr. and Mrs. P. H. Babcock, E. L. Hessenmuller, Hon. J. D. Cleveland, A. T. Brewer, Hon. Theodore E. Burton, J. H. McBride, Webb C. Hayes, N. P. Bowler, Lee McBride, Gen. James Barnett, Mr. Louis H. Severance, Mr. Myron T. Herrick, Judge John C. Hale, Judge W. W. Boynton, Amos Townsend, Chairman of the Chairman.

The thanks of the Society are especially due to Edward Oviatt, Esq., of Akron.

The Newspapers cordially supported the plan, the *Leader*, *Plain Dealer* and *Sun and Voice*, by editorials, and the Leader Printing Company and Mr. L. E. Holden both subscribed liberally to the fund.

The unsolicited and liberal subscription of our former fellow citizen, Col. Wm. P. Fogg, of New York City, set a fruitful example,

The two largest subscriptions were given with wisdom—that of Mr. Wade, very early in the canvassing for subscriptions and when the enterprise most needed the encouragement and force of a liberal example. That of Mr. Rockefeller was made in a very thoughtful and wise manner, which helped very much, aside from its own generous amount, in the procuring and collection of other subscriptions. Its terms proved in practice to be wisely made for the best success of the enterprise.

His note authorizing the subscription is worthy of especial notice, and is embodied in this report.

CLEVELAND, O., Aug. 13, 1891.

HON. AMOS TOWNSEND,
141 Water St.,
City.

My Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 6th at hand, in respect to the effort to purchase the Savings Bank building, for the Western Reserve Historical Society.

If the Savings Bank comply with their promise to deduct \$10,000 from the purchase price of \$60,000 and contribute \$10,000 more; and if other good and responsible parties pledge \$40,000 on or before December 1st, 1891, I will pledge \$10,000, payable pro rata with the other subscribers, providing I shall not be required to pay anything on account of any subscriptions by others, remaining unpaid March 1st, next.

Yours very truly,

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER.

The subscriptions obtained by the committee during the years 1891 and 1892, were in order of amount and alphabet :

John D. Rockefeller.....	\$10,000	Hon. Stevenson Burke.....	\$ 500
Jeptha Homer Wade.....	5,000	Mrs. Eliza Ann Clark.....	500
Charles Candee Baldwin.....	2,000	Dan Parmelee Eells.....	500
William J. Gordon.....	2,000	C. A. and Eugene Grasselli...	500
David Candee Baldwin, Elyria	1,000	Truman P. Handy.....	500
Mrs. Maria B. Cobb.....	1,000	Hon. John Hay.....	500
Mrs. Anna M. Harkness.....	1,000	Charles Hickox's heirs.....	500
Henry R. Hatch.....	1,000	Peter M. Hitchcock.....	500
Oliver H. Payne.....	1,000	Liberty E. Holden.....	500
Charles O. Scott.....	1,000	John Huntington.....	500
Mrs. Margaretta Stone.....	1,000	Oliver G. Kent.....	500
Hon. William J. White.....	1,000	Isaac Leisy.....	500
Perry H. Babcock.....	500	Mrs. Flora Stone Mather.....	500
Elbert Irving Baldwin.....	500	Samuel Mather.....	500
Charles W. Bingham.....	500	McBride Brothers.....	500
Hon. William Bingham.....	500	Hon. Henry B. Payne.....	500
Mrs. Mary Scranton Bradford	500	Hon. Henry Bishop Perkins,	
Charles F. Brush.....	500	Warren.....	500

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO BUILDING.

15

James Pickands.....	\$ 500	A. T. Brewer.....	\$ 100
Alfred A. Pope.....	500	Fayette Brown.....	100
Isaac N. Topliff.....	500	Harvey H. Brown.....	100
Hon. Amos Townsend.....	500	John R. Buchtel, Akron.....	100
James J. Tracy.....	500	Charles H. Bulkley.....	100
Thomas H. White.....	500	Childs, Groff & Co.....	100
Miss Sarah Walworth, Miss Anne Walworth, and Mrs. S. A. Bradbury.....	500	Albert G. Colwell.....	100
John L. Woods.....	500	A. L. Conger, Akron.....	100
O. C. Barber, Akron.....	250	Wilson S. Dodge.....	100
N. P. Bowler.....	250	H. C. Ellison.....	100
Thomas Burnham, Glen Falls, N. Y.....	250	Estep, Dickey, Carr & Goff..	100
William Chisholm.....	250	Samuel Augustus Fuller.....	100
William Chisholm.....	250	George A. Garretson... ..	100
Warren H. Corning.....	250	C. E. Gehring.....	100
Stiles H. Curtiss.....	250	Hon. John C. Hale.....	100
Col. William Perry Fogg, New York City.....	250	Leonard C. Hanna.....	100
Julius E. French.....	250	George Hoyt.....	100
G. E. Herrick.....	250	James M. Hoyt.....	100
Addison Hills.....	250	J. L. Hudson, per Dickle.....	100
Leader Printing Company....	250	Samuel H. Mather.....	100
William J. Morgan.....	250	McIntosh, Huntington & Co..	100
Stiles C. Smith.....	250	Lewis Miller, Akron.....	100
Hon. Samuel E. Williamson..	250	Capt, George W. Morgan.....	100
P. M. Arthur.....	200	Henry C. Rouse.....	100
Gen. James Barnett.....	200	Ferdinand Schumacher, Akron	100
Edward Bingham.....	200	John F. Seiberling, Akron....	100
Jonathan F. Card.....	200	Samuel W. Sessions.....	100
Joseph Colwell.....	200	Louis H. Severance.....	100
Edwin R. Perkins.....	200	W. C. Scofield, and E. Lewis.	100
William A. Price.....	200	Oliver M. Stafford.....	100
William H. Price.....	200	E. J. Siller.....	100
Leonard Schlather.....	200	Stephens & Widler.....	100
Rollin C. White.....	200	William Taylor, Son & Co....	100
Mrs. Franklin T. Backus.....	150	The Upson Walton Co.....	100
Clifton B. Beach.....	100	Mrs. Jane K. Collins.....	50
E. H. Bourne.....	100	W. S. Jones.....	50
Hon. W. W. Boynton.....	100	N. O. Stone.....	50
		J. M. Weitz.....	50
		President Charles F. Thwing.	25
		A. T. Anderson.....	20
		Miss L. T. Guilford.....	5
Total.....		\$52,850	

A number of the smaller subscriptions were unsolicited.

Your Committee feel that in justice alike to themselves and to the Society, suitable recognition should be made in this report of the invaluable services contributed by President Judge Charles C. Baldwin, towards securing for it a fitting and permanent home. He fully understood the need of a capacious, fire-proof, and centrally located building property to protect the already invaluable and rapidly increasing material in its care, together with its large and valuable library. He conceived the plan of purchasing the building it now owns and occupies, and it was mainly through his influence that the Directors determined to undertake to secure it. It was largely due to his energy and unwavering zeal that the money was raised making the purchase possible. He was among the earliest and most liberal contributors thereto, and labored constantly till every obstacle was overcome, the deed to the property duly executed and delivered and the building remodeled and adapted to the Society's needs, and made ready in all the necessary appointments for its occupancy.

Respectfully submitted,

AMOS TOWNSEND,

Chairman Committee on Finance.

PATRONS, LIFE

— AND —

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

— OF THE —

WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

DECEMBER, 1894.

PATRONS.

PATRONS, DECEASED.

Elbert Irving Baldwin.
Leonard Case.
Mrs. Eliza Ann Clarke.
William J. Gordon.
John Huntington.
Isaac Leisy.

Joseph Perkins.
Mrs. Margaretta Stone.
John F. Warner.
Miss Mary A. Warner.
Mrs. Mary E. Whittlesey.
John L. Woods.

PATRONS.

Perry H. Babcock.
Charles Candee Baldwin.
David Candee Baldwin, Elyria.
Charles W. Bingham.
Hon. William Bingham.
Mrs. Mary Scranton Bradford.
Charles F. Brush.
Hon. Stevenson Burke.
Mrs. Maria B. Cobb.
Dan Parmelee Fells.
Truman P. Handy.
Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness.
Henry R. Hatch.
Hon. John Hay.
Peter M. Hitchcock.
Liberty E. Holden.
Oliver G. Kent.

Mrs. Flora Stone Mather.
Samuel Mather.
William G. Mather.
Hon. Henry B. Payne.
Oliver H. Payne.
Hon. Henry B. Perkins, Warren.
James Pickands.
Alfred A. Pope.
John D. Rockefeller.
Charles O. Scott.
Isaac N. Topliff.
Hon. Amos Townsend.
James J. Tracy.
Jeptha Homer Wade.
Thomas H. White.
Hon. William J. White.

LIFE MEMBERS, DECEASED.

Hon. John W. Allen.
Hon. John D. Baldwin, Worcester,
Mass.
Norman C. Baldwin.
Seymour Wesley Baldwin.
Thomas S. Beckwith.
Lucius V. Bierce, Akron.
Hon. Jesse P. Bishop.
Henry C. Blossom.
Alva Bradley.
John R. Buchtel, Akron.
Herman M. Chapin.
Oscar A. Childs.
Abira Cobb.
John L. Cole.
Hon. William Collins.
David N. Cross.

William M. Darlington, Pittsburgh.
J. H. Devereaux.
Lyman C. Draper, I.L.D., Madison, Wis.
Hon. Heman Ely, Elyria.
John Erwin.
A. W. Fairbanks.
Samuel Augustus Fuller.
Hon. James A. Garfield, Mentor.
Theodatus Garlick.
Charles E. Gehring.
Stephen V. Harkness.
H. A. Harvey.
Hon. Rutherford Birchard Hayes,
Fremont.
Franklin B. Hough, New York.
Myron R. Keith.

Horace Kelley.	Hon. William S. C. Otis.
Thomas M. Kelley.	William H. Price, Jr.
Jared Potter Kirtland, LL.D.	Hon. Rufus P. Ranney.
William G. Lane, Sandusky.	William H. Smith, Chicago.
Increase A. Lapham, LL.D., Wis.	Robert W. Taylor.
Benson G. Lossing, New York.	H. B. Tuttle.
O. H. Marshall, Buffalo, N. Y.	Jeptha H. Wade.
Samuel H. Mather, LL.D.	Randall P. Wade.
Samuel L. Mather.	Miss Sarah Walworth.
Edmund P. Morgan.	Col. Charles Whittlesey.
George Mygatt.	George Willey.
Hon. Eben Newton.	

LIFE MEMBERS.

Jarvis M. Adams.	Joseph Colwell.
Miss Sarah L. Andrews.	A. L. Conger, Akron.
Peter M. Arthur.	Warren H. Corning.
Elroy M. Avery.	Stiles H. Curtiss.
Mrs. Brenton D. Eabcock.	Kirkland K. Cutler, Spokane.
Mrs. Lucy (Mygatt) Backus.	Wilson S. Dodge.
Dudley Baldwin.	H. C. Ellison.
Samuel Prentiss Baldwin.	William Perry Fogg, New York City.
Ohio C. Barber, Akron.	Gen'l Manning F. Force, Sandusky.
Gen. James Barnett.	Julius E. French.
Levi F. Bauder.	Harry A. Garfield.
Hon. Clifton B. Beach.	George A. Garretson.
Edward Bingham.	Charles F. Glasser, Florida.
William J. Boardman.	Charles Gordon.
E. H. Bourne.	Cæsar A. Grasselli.
N. P. Bowler.	Eugene Grasselli.
Hon. W. W. Boynton.	Miss L. T. Guilford.
Mrs. S. A. Bradbury.	Cleveland C. Hale.
A. T. Brewer.	Hon. John C. Hale.
Fayette Brown.	Leonard C. Hanna.
Harvey H. Brown.	G. E. Herrick.
A. E. Buell.	Charles G. Hickox.
Charles H. Bulkley.	Miss Laura Hickox.
Thomas Burnham, Glen Falls, N. Y.	Frank F. Hickox.
Jonathan F. Card.	Ralph W. Hickox.
Wallace Hugh Cathcart.	Addison Hills.
W. S. Chamberlain.	Colgate Hoyt.
William Chisholm, Sr.	George Hoyt.
William Chisholm.	James M. Hoyt.
Prof. Edward W. Claypole, Akron.	J. L. Hudson.
A. G. Colwell.	Mrs. Mary Wood Hunt.

Miss M. E. Ingersoll.	Frederick P. Root.
Kent Jarvis, Jr., Massillon.	Henry C. Rouse.
Henry N. Johnson.	James F. Ryder.
M. M. Jones, Utica, N. Y.	J. H. Salisbury, M.D.
Mrs. Frederick Judson.	Leonard Schlather.
Herbert McBride.	Ferdinand Schumacher.
John Harris McBride.	John F. Seiberling, Chicago, Ill.
Leander McBride.	Samuel W. Sessions.
Lewis Miller, Akron.	Louis H. Severance.
Hon. James Monroe, Oberlin.	Ernst J. Siller.
Capt. George W. Morgan.	Stiles C. Smith.
William J. Morgan.	Oliver M. Stafford.
George W. Pack.	Silas M. Stone.
Charles Paine.	Worthy L. Streator.
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FARM LIFE

IN CENTRAL OHIO

SIXTY YEARS AGO.

By MARTIN WELKER,

RETIRED U. S. JUDGE.

[REPRINTED FROM PREVIOUS PUBLICATION IN 1892,
WITH ADDITIONS.]

1895.

FARM LIFE IN CENTRAL OHIO SIXTY YEARS AGO.

BY MARTIN WELKER.

INTRODUCTION.

“’Tis greatly wise to talk with our past lives.”

As we grow old, we form a greater attachment for the Past, because we lived in it, and it is behind us. Passing the down-hill of life, it affords us great pleasure to look backward to the “days of other years,” when life was new and filled with day dreams of success and happiness, fondly hoped to be realized in the then “shadowed and unknown future.”

To some these ambitious desires and longings have been fully realized, but to many others failures and disappointments have met them everywhere in their efforts for success and improvement in their life’s condition.

Human life has been compared to a theater. During the play “we take higher or lower seats, but when it is over, we mingle in the common stream and go home.” Like the teeter of our juvenile days, as one goes “up” another goes “down.” Such has always been and always will be human life. Variety is said to be the spice of life. These changes, these ups and downs, meet us in all the departments of life’s work. There is, however, less variety and change, less sudden breaking up, less teetering, in farm life than any other occupation. The farmer population is more stable and conservative in conduct and habits than those engaged in most

other pursuits of life. Changes and improvements, therefore, have come to them slowly and gradually. Indeed, as the years roll by, we scarcely realize how great the progress has been in agricultural life, even within our recollection.

To enable the reader to make the contrast, and to realize this progress, by presenting a picture of farm life as it appeared sixty years ago, upon the average farm in Central Ohio, is the object of this paper, with its illustrations.

If its perusal shall recall to old readers the scenes of early boyhood or girlhood, when the hot blood of youth was in their veins, and the love of life and the beautiful world before them, and remind them of the good old days of the "long ago," of the pleasures and enjoyments of their spring-time of life, and bring recollections of early associations,—if young readers, now enjoying the benefits and culture of the advanced farm life of to-day, will see and appreciate the employments, the actual life of their ancestors in by-gone times, and be interested as well as benefited thereby,—the the purpose of the writer will have been accomplished.

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION.

The means and facilities for education have a great influence upon the character of the people of every community. In these early times, these means were very limited in Ohio. There were then no common schools established by law and supported by taxation. What schools we then had were called subscription schools, and consisted of an agreement by the patrons of the school to pay the teacher so much per scholar for so many months' teaching, generally in the winter season, and conditioned that the "master" should be boarded during the time. As a general thing he was boarded in the several families of the scholars, the time being equally divided among them. The "master" in this way became well acquainted with his patrons and pupils, and made it

very desirable on the part of scholars to have him in the family. Generally no women were employed as teachers in country schools.

The boys and girls attended and studied together in the same classes, and played together at recess. The master was required to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic at least as far as the single rule of three, or in other words the three R's—"Readin', 'Ritin', and 'Rithmetic." Order was preserved in the school by the rod or ferule, always on hand in the school room. About four months during the fall and winter was the extent of the school. One of the most interesting exercises of the school was the daily spelling. The master would give out from the book the words for the class to spell. To stand at the head of the class in spelling was a big thing for the boy or girl.

Then very often during the winter there would be spelling matches between schools in the neighborhood, in which the best spellers in each school would be pitted against each other, creating great rivalry to beat. In this way the scholars as a general thing became good spellers.

About the holidays there was a very general custom to "bar out" the master from the school house, and make him treat to cider, apples, and cakes. How to do so would be planned for weeks by the scholars, and was kept a profound secret from the master. He would only know of it on reaching the school house, to find the door and windows barricaded by a number of boys inside, who refused him admittance until he would sign an "article" to treat. This some masters would refuse to do for days, and in the mean time try to break in. If he succeeded, the boys expected and would receive a sound thrashing. The boys generally succeeded and brought the master to terms, when the school would go on—full indemnity for the past being stipulated for in the surrender. In these contests many a boy developed forces for leadership that won him distinction in after life.

The school house of that day was generally a log cabin, with puncheon floor, clapboard roof and door, greased paper in the windows, the whole end of the house one wide fire-place, with a chimney made of sticks and clay, built on the outside. The benches or seats were split logs with the flat side uppermost, with round sticks for legs, on which the scholars sat with feet dangling above the floor. The master had the only desk, and that was a flat board with four legs standing in the corner. The writing tables consisted of wide split slabs along one side of the room, supported by pegs driven in the logs of the house. The wood for the ample

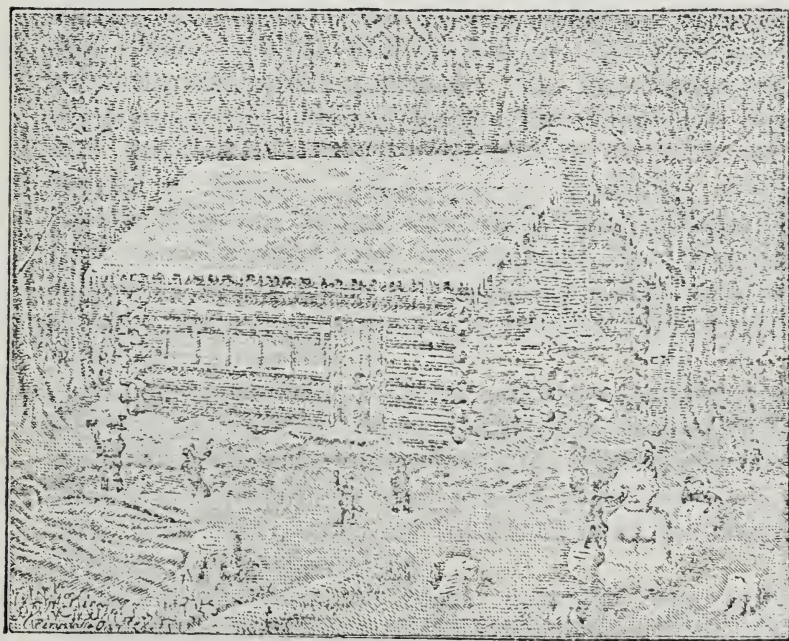


FIG. 1. LOG CABIN SCHOOL HOUSE.

fire-place was furnished by the patrons of the school, and the fires were made by the boys, alternating around. The distance to be traveled morning and evening rendered but little

exercise at noon necessary to keep the children healthy. Yet ball playing (cat and corner ball), foot racing, and blind man's buff, were greatly enjoyed by both sexes. Dinner was always taken along from home and eaten with a great relish.

The sketch of the school house herein contained is a fair sample, and is a copy of the one in which the writer commenced his education, walking two miles to reach it, mostly through the woods.

There were then but few books used in the schools, or read by the average farmer. The Bible was found in most families. For history, "Weems' Life of Washington," and the life of Francis Marion, nearly comprised the list. Dilworth's Spelling-book, the Western Calculator, the Columbian Orator, and the New Testament, furnished the textbooks for reading and arithmetic. The New Testament was the principal class reading book. The writer well remembers standing in a large class, starting out with the first chapter of Matthew, going over the genealogy of Christ back to Abraham, reciting who begot whom, without in the least knowing what cause of complaint Isaac had against Abraham; and if those old patriarchs could have heard through the centuries the names we called them, their dust would have protested.

Murray's Grammar was in the hands of a few, but was not taught in the country school; neither were geography, natural philosophy, astronomy, chemistry, algebra, nor any of the higher branches now taught in the public schools. Very often they were studied by the young folks, but under the direction of a private teacher.

The first institution for higher education established in Central Ohio was Kenyon College, founded by Bishop Chase, of the Episcopal Church, uncle of Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase.

Then followed the grand common school system, with graded and high schools, supported by taxation upon the property of the State. This effort at first met with great

opposition, on the ground of increased taxation. But persistence on the part of a few active men in the State, among whom most active was Judge William Johnston, of Cincinnati, introduced the free school system into successful operation, with its great resulting benefits to the people, and advancement of general education. For this grand result the people of Ohio are more indebted to the Hon. Harvey Rice, of Cleveland, now dead, than a member of the State Senate, than to any other man in the State. For many years he had made it a specialty and had devoted much of his best thought and energy for the accomplishment of this great desire and ambition of his life, and he lived to see its great results.

FARM WORK.

The first and great work of the farm was grubbing and clearing the heavy timber from the land. This was done by the early settlers in a great measure. But at the period of which we write, the ground had to be cleared of brush and fallen timber previously deadened, every spring before plowing. There being no cross-cut saws, and to save the labor with the ax to cut up the logs, they were burnt into sections by what was called "niggering," putting sticks across logs and setting them on fire. These had to be stirred up often to keep them burning. This was called "stirring up the niggers." These logs were rolled up together in log heaps, and with the brush were burnt up. Then the field had to be "sprouted," that is, the sprouts of green stumps cut off. Generally a patch of new ground would be cleared each winter for a turnip or potato patch and be ready for the spring.

The plowing was generally done with what was called the bar-shear plow with wooden mold-board, with a boy alongside with a paddle to keep the dirt from clogging on the

mold-board; and afterward it was again stirred with the one-horse shovel plow. Occasionally a plow with an iron or steel mold-board was used by the more advanced farmers.

Wheat and rye and oats, and all seeds, were sown broadcast by hand, and were covered by the triangular wooden or iron toothed harrow, and were dug in with the mattock around the stumps and trees. Corn was planted by hand, covered with the hoe, and cultivated with the shovel plow and the hoe. Hoeing corn was the special work of the boys, and sometimes of the girls; and a boy or girl would ride the horse hitched to the plow when the corn was high.

Wheat and rye were cut with the sickle, made of steel with fine saw-teeth edge, and were bound into sheaves by hand with straw bands; and oats and buckwheat were cut



FIG. 2. REAPING SICKLE.

with the scythe until the advent of the hand cradle, then first making its appearance.

All grains were thrashed with the wooden flail, and cleaned with a sheet, two men so swinging the sheet as to blow the chaff from the grain, as it was slowly poured out



FIG. 3. THRASHING FLAIL.

of the half bushel by another man, after which the hand riddle was used to clean the wheat for use. It was about a winter's job for a lone farmer to thrash out and clean the crop of a ten-acre field. Men made it a specialty to so thrash during the winter for an agreed price per bushel, going around the neighborhood.

The flail was made of two pieces of hickory or white ash, the longer for the handle, and the shorter for the head. The handle was about six feet long, shaved smoothly to fit the hand, and the head was three feet long and larger around, with a hole at the end of each, so that the two were tied together with a flexible buckskin or eelskin string. The thrashers, whatever number might be engaged, would keep stroke so as not to conflict with each other, striking upon the sheaves lying on a tight wooden floor, the bands being cut as laid down, and the straw being turned over as the thrashing proceeded, until all the grain was shelled out. These regular strokes of the thrashers, keeping musical time, enlivened the work and kept them warm in the cold weather; and he who failed to keep the stroke properly would often suffer for his carelessness by a blow from one of the conflicting and rebounding flails.

The wind mill, or fanning mill, made its appearance soon after the hand cradle. Wheat then would sometimes be tramped out with horses on the barn floor. Buckwheat was thrashed with a flail on a ground floor in the field, and cleaned with a sheet until the wind mill came.

Grass was cut with the hand scythe, cured with the fork and hand rake, and hauled to the stack in cock by horse and rope or chain, or by wagon. Generally the hay was stacked in the meadow where cut, and there was fed to cattle, horses and sheep from the stack, on the ground in the winter time. The manure was left where dropped in the field; and little attention was paid to fertilizing the land, because it was then not needed. Farming in fact was a sort of skimming process, as compared with the fine cultivation of the present time.

The harvest time was then, as it has always been and still is, a great event as well as a busy time on the farm. Usually quite a number of hands would be employed to reap in the wheat or rye field, who with sickle and regular step, each one upon his allotted land, would literally march through

the golden grain, with a leader in front, enlivened by song or joke, until the end of the round was reached, where water, and whisky and shade, would rest the jolly reapers. With sickle on shoulder, the reaper would bind back his sheaves. And woe to the reaper who did not stand the day's work and had to "give out" and lie in the fence corner, and, in the parlance of the day, whose "hide was hung on the fence."

The mowing in large meadows was done in nearly the same way and order, by numbers working together.

The old men and boys, and often girls, carried water to the harvest or hay field in the coffee pot or jug, and generally the bottle of whisky was to be found in the shade of a tree or fence corner. The favorite amusement was to see who could get the most blackberries out of the bottle in one drink. The one able to stand the most whisky usually got the most berries. To the workers on the farm, the blast of the dinner horn was a welcome sound, and particularly so to the hungry boys.

One of the special duties of the farm boy at noon during hay harvest, while the mowers were resting, was to turn the grindstone to grind the scythes. This duty, often performed by the writer, has made him hate grindstones ever since.

THE HOME.

The dwelling houses were generally log cabins. They were located near a spring, if there was one on the farm, and without much reference to the location of roads. If no spring could be found, then a place was selected, and a well dug and walled up with stone or puncheons, a square curb being put around it, and a windlass or a well-sweep placed over it to draw the water, with the oaken bucket and chain or rope.

The cabin was built with round logs having the bark on, usually near a foot in diameter. The foundation was made of four larger logs, supported at each corner of the building by a large stone, or by the butt of a log cut the proper length and set up endwise. These logs were notched down at the corners to make them stay in place; and sleepers were laid on opposite logs or sills, on which was to be placed the floor. These sleepers were flattened on top by the broad-ax, so as to make the floor level. On this foundation, made as nearly level as possible, and of the size desired, rounds of logs of the proper length with the bark on were laid, lapping over at the corners and notched down by expert axmen selected for the occasion at the "house-raising," one at each corner. The logs were put in place by the use of skids on which to slide them up with the aid of handspikes or poles in the hands of the the house-raisers. Each corner man would take care to keep the log wall plumb and square.

When the walls became as high as the story was desired, the square walls would be drawn in from the two sides which were to form the eaves of the roof, by shortening the end logs so as to form a gable, with logs laid along the length of the building at the ends of these gable logs to the top, where would be placed a center log to form the comb of the roof. The gable logs would be notched like those of the lower courses; and the roof was made of clapboards. The clapboards were split or rived out of straight green oak timber, about four feet long, eight or ten inches wide, and an inch thick. A tool made of iron, with a wooden handle at right angles with the blade, called a frow, was used for this purpose, with the aid of a wooden mallet to drive it into the block of wood prepared for the boards. The end of the block was inserted in a forked log so as to form a pry to aid the splitting with the frow, the handle of which served as a lever to assist the splitting. The clapboards thus made would be laid in rows on the horizontal rafters overlapping upon each course several inches, and being placed

lengthwise up and down. They were not nailed nor pinned fast, but kept in place by weight poles, as they were called, consisting of round logs eight or ten inches in diameter, laid across the roof along its whole length. These poles were kept in place by split blocks laid endwise between them on the clapboards, the lower pole being fastened with wooden pins driven into auger holes bored in the lower log.

The floor was made with puncheons split out of heavy timber, two or three inches thick, a foot or so wide, and as long as desired, hewed with the broad-ax so as to make them level and to fit each other as closely as possible.

To provide the fire-place, a large aperture would be made in the end where it was desired, by cutting out the logs, perhaps six feet wide and nearly five feet high, or sometimes larger. The chimney would be built around this by using split logs built in with the logs of the house and notched down, extending outside of its wall far enough to make the required fire-place for the use of large logs and sticks for the fire. This lower part or foundation was built of the same size to the height of eight feet, and then the upper chimney was gradually made smaller, being built up outside of the house with sticks split for that purpose, which were laid horizontally with their ends crossing and lapping over at the corners, up to a sufficient height to avoid danger to the roof from fire. When thus built, the chimney was chunked and daubed with mud, usually yellow clay, so as to make it tight from the bottom to the top. The fire-place would be lined with stone, for its bottom, back wall, and jambs, high enough to prevent catching fire. A pole was usually placed in the chimney, called a "lug pole," on which to hang the cooking utensils, with the aid of the "pot tram-mel," or chain, over the fire. Sometimes an iron crane was placed in the fire-place, with hooks, on which to hang pots and kettles.

The places for doors and windows would be made by cutting the logs of the wall. The casing for them would be split

slabs of the proper width and height, called jambs, which were fastened to the logs by wooden pins driven in auger holes. The cracks between the logs would be filled with split pieces of wood called "chunking," and daubed with mud, both inside and outside of the walls, to make them tight and keep the house warm. The whole house would have earth banked up to the lower logs and floor forming the underpinning. The door was usually made of clapboards, fastened with wooden pins to cross pieces as a frame; the hinges for it were made of wood working on wooden pegs; and the latch and catch for the door were also made of wood and placed inside the door, with a latch-string passing through a hole so as to hang outside, which when pulled in would form a lock to outsiders. "The latch-string is out" has thence become an expression of hospitality the country over.

To form the garret or loft for the house, joists made of logs were placed across the building at the proper height, with their top side flattened, on which puncheons or clapboards were laid to form the floor of the loft and the ceiling of the room below. The garret was reached by a wooden ladder, either inside of the house, by passing up through a trap-door, or, if outside, a hole was cut in the logs of the gable and closed with a clapboard door.

If a porch was desired, the sleepers for the lower floor were extended the necessary distance and puncheons were laid on them. If a roof over it was desired, the joists for the upper floor were similarly extended, and the roof started at the outer edge of the porch, being built as before described.

Most of the houses would have what was called a "lean-to," built back in the same way as the main house, giving thus a front and a back room besides the loft. Some had two rooms in the house, but many only had one room below and the loft.

The windows were usually closed with glass, but often only with greased white paper. There was generally a rude mantel over the fire-place, on which were placed the household bric-a-brac. In its front and beside the jambs was the celebrated "chimney corner," where much law, gospel, and politics, were wont to be talked over by the old settlers.

Besides the wooden latch, no bolts nor bars were provided against burglars; indeed, no house-breakers were feared:

"Neither locks had they to their doors nor bars to their windows,
But their dwellings were open as day and the hearts of the owners."

The room with the ample fire-place was the "living-room" for the family. This was the place for the cooking, baking and eating, as well as the "family hearth," around whose blazing fire the family sat of winter evenings, and read, ate apples, drank cider, cracked nuts and jokes, told stories, and enjoyed life. This was also the room where company was received and entertained, and by the light of the lard lamp the evening was pleasantly spent.



FIG. 4. LARD LAMP.

Another lamp, more primitive than this iron one, was often used in the cabin. It was called a "slut" and consisted of a rag tied over a button to make it stand up for a wick, which was set into a saucer filled with lard and lighted.

The other room and the garret were used as sleeping rooms for the family or guests. The writer remembers very distinctly sleeping in the loft, as one of four children in a bed feet together, many a cold winter in his boyhood days, and of mornings finding the bedclothes covered with snow, which had sifted in between the clapboards.

The accompanying sketch represents the log cabin in which the writer was born, similar to most of the houses of that day.

Sometimes there would be added a front porch to the house, where the family would enjoy the quiet evenings of the summer.

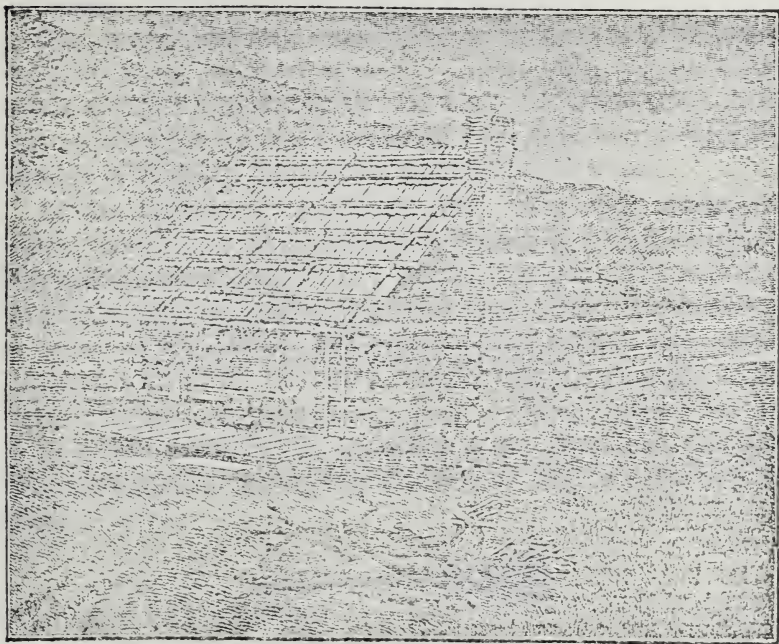


FIG. 5. LOG CABIN.

The hewed-log house, with logs hewed inside and outside, with roof of oak shingles, shaved with drawing knife on the shaving-horse and nailed on rafters, with tight board floors and doors, chunked and daubed and otherwise built like the cabin described, was the first improvement on the primitive cabin.

The barns and stables were usually built of logs and were not very large. Stock generally ran outdoors winter and summer. In the summer time cattle and hogs were turned

into the woods, with ear marks of the owner. The cows generally were belled so as to find them easily at milking time, and the sheep always had a bell wether to lead them, and sometimes horses were also belled.

Occasionally could be seen better houses, some of brick and others frame, with walls weather-boarded, on the better class of farms.

The wood pile was usually out of doors, near the house, with no cover or shed over it. Large logs, indeed whole trees, would be hauled in the fall for the winter's wood, to be cut up with the ax when used, the boys generally having the charge of keeping the mother supplied with wood.

In the absence of cellars, for none were made under the cabin, caves were often made in hillsides, in which fruits and vegetables were kept in the winter; but generally potatoes, apples, turnips, cabbages, and other vegetables, were buried in a corner of the garden, in separate holes, as they were called, covered with straw and with a heavy coating of earth, in the form of a cone, to prevent freezing. When desired for use a hole was made in the covering to get them out, the hole being stopped up by a plug of straw or hay to keep out the frost.



FIG. 6. SPLIT BROOM.

The split broom was found in every household. This was made of a stick of green hickory wood, the handle being first shaped of the proper size and length, with a shaving knife. The broom part was made of the big end of the stick, after taking off the bark, by splitting with a pen-knife thin and fine strips of the wood, leaving the ends fast to the stick, and turning them downwards and tying them with a string to form the head, as the cut shows. This was the almost universal scrub broom, answering a better purpose than the corn broom for the rough puncheon floors. It was

made in the house in the long winter evenings beside the cabin fire, by some of the men or boys. Such brooms were also made by experts for sale. The "hickory broom" has become noted as the great "scrubber" to clean political or other foul places.

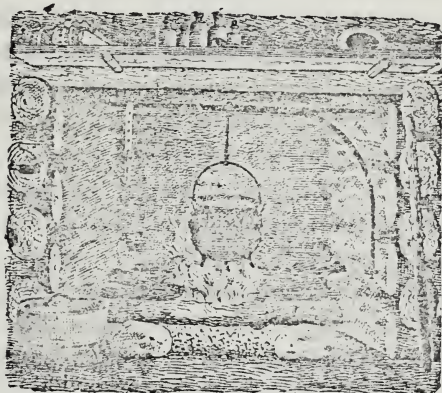


FIG. 7. THE FIRE-PLACE AND METAL OVEN.

The big metal oven with its lid performed the principal baking; and the iron pot, hung on the crane, cooked the boiled dinners, and made the mush for the family. It was not an unusual thing to see several children, with tin cup and spoon in hand, seated around the mush pot on the hearth, helping themselves to mush and milk as their evening meal. The bake oven was about fifteen inches in diameter and eight inches high, with lugs at two sides in which to insert the bail or hooks for lifting, mounted on short legs, and having a cover or lid with a flange around it to hold coals. To bake bread, coals were placed on the hearth, the oven with the dough put in it was set upon the coals, and the lid covered with live coals placed upon it, which were carefully watched to keep them from kindling to a flame until the baking was completed. Oh, the rich odors that came from the old iron oven, to the hungry boy in the days of yore! In this oven

were also fried the nice doughnuts, or fat cakes as they were sometimes called, that the good mothers knew so well how to make.

The iron pot hanging over the fire also had a bail, with a lid to keep out the soot falling from the open chimney. All the meat frying was done in the open iron skillet with a handle for lifting; and it, as well as the oven, used to bake the buckwheat and pancakes for the family.

Sometimes heavy metal andirons were used in the fireplace, on which was placed a forestick in making the fire; but often stones answered their purpose.

An old settler, who had been one of a large family of children, grew up to be a large fleshy man, whilst the others were small and thin. He used to explain his fattened condition in this way: He said he was the only left-handed one in the family, and when boys their principal living was bean porridge, which, after it was cooked, would be set out in the pot, with the family gathered around it. The right-handed ones, dipping in their spoons, soon got the contents of the pot going around in a whirl, and the few beans and small fragments of meat partook of the circular motion, but he, being left-handed, thrust in his spoon and met the floating beans and meat, and was thus able to appropriate to himself the solid food, leaving the others to live chiefly on the thin porridge.

Some of the more able farmers would have a mud or brick out oven, in which the mother baked the grand old apple and pumpkin pies, so much enjoyed by the young. There were no cooking stoves, and but few stoves of any kind to warm the house. The open, blazing wood fire alone warmed the house and spread cheer and comfort over the hearthstone. Coal was not then used for heating or for steam purposes. Indeed, it was scarcely known for these uses. The lucifer match was not then used for lighting fires. It came after this period. When the house fire went out, resort would be had to the nearest neighbor to "borrow fire," or it

would be made by steel and flint and punk, a species of rotten wood found in the woods, that easily caught the sparks made with the flint and steel, and often the fire was started with a bellows.

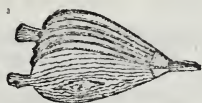


FIG. 8. BELLOWS.

The flint lock was used on the gun. The powder horn, shot pouch, and bullet molds, also belonged to it. Percussion caps or loaded shells were not then invented.

The common flowers cultivated in the dooryard and the garden were Marigold, Pink, Sunflower, Hollyhock, Easter Posy, Sweet William, Tulip, Poppy, Roses, Bachelors' Button, and Touch-me-nots. No house plants or flowers would be found in the windows of the home.

Few carpets of any kind were used, and the household furniture was plain and substantial rather than ornamental. The dishes and table ware were plain and mostly common ware, but occasionally a full set of Liverpool ware would be found in the home of the more wealthy farmer. The cutlery of that day was greatly inferior to that of the present time. Some pot metal knives and forks were used; and some of the pewter plates, sugar bowls, and teapots of the olden times were still in use on some tables.

The farm house very often was not furnished with a wash basin. The washing of face and hands was done at the spring trough, or by pouring water from a tin cup, or gourd,



FIG. 9. THE GOURD.

by one upon the hands of another, and so taking turns at the wash. No bath tubs were used, and when men and boys

desired to bathe they went to the neighboring stream or mill pond, and "went in a swimming."

No shoe blacking had been invented, and grease mixed with burnt straw was used. In those days tea and coffee were luxuries not in every house; but rye coffee, sassafras and spice, and sage teas, supplied their place, and answered every purpose. Hog and hominy, corn bread and mush and milk, fruit and honey, constituted the "staff of life."

In these humble and happy homes, the boys and girls were brought up in a frugal way. With few luxuries, but healthful food and much outdoor exercise, they were strong and healthy, and from such homes have gone many of the men and women who have controlled and led in the affairs of our State, as well as the Nation.

It is seldom that the home of our childhood is forgotten. All through life busy memory will recall to our recollection those surroundings of early life, and we love to think of our dear old home, be it "ever so humble." The writer has been introduced in and visited the elegant mansions of the rich, decorated with the finest work of art, with the beautiful household ornaments of this day, but no place has ever seemed to him so dear as the cabin home of his boyhood. He has eaten at the table of the cultured and wealthy, with costly dishes and elegant gold and silver decorations, dined with Governors, Senators, Cabinet Ministers, and Presidents, but never enjoyed so much the viands before him, as he did the good mother's dinner at his early hearthstone upon the farm.

DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.

The raw materials available for the farmer's clothing were supplied by a flock of sheep on almost every farm, and a flax patch yearly sown to furnish flax for linen and tow cloth. There was required much labor in the manufacture of these materials, and the greater part was performed by the women of the household.

The men raised the flax, the seed being sown by hand, and the ripe flax being pulled by hand and spread upon the ground to rot. After sufficient length of time, it was gathered and taken to the flax brake, a heavy wooden machine,

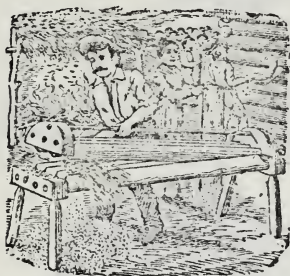


FIG. 10. FLAX BRAKE.

by which, after being dried by fire, the stalks were so broken up that the fiber was completely separated from them. Then a rough hatchel was used to remove the broken



FIG. 11. ROUGH HATCHEL.

stalks, and the fibers were scutched on the sharp edge of an upright board with a wooden knife to get the tow out and



FIG. 12. WOODEN KNIFE.

soften them. Next they were put upon the fine-tooth hatchel, and all the short fibers called tow were separated



FIG. 13. FINE HATCHEL.

from the long fibers; and the long, called flax proper, were put into knots or bundles for spinning.

The men sheared the sheep, after having washed them completely. The wool was carded on hand cards by the



FIG. 14. HAND CARDS.

women, and made into rolls for spinning. They spun the wool on the big and little wheel, mostly on the big one,

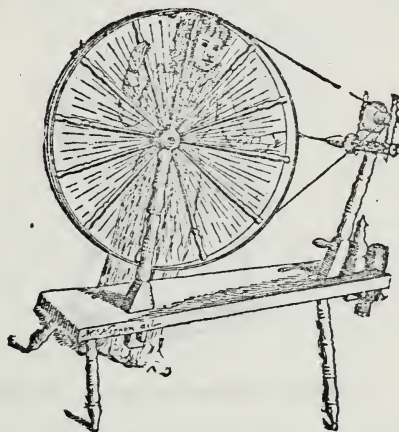


FIG. 15. BIG SPINNING WHEEL.

made it into skeins on the reel, and colored the yarn as

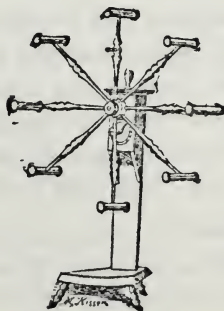


FIG. 16. REEL.

desired; and with the yarn they made flannel, being all wool, for the women and girls. Of the spun wool the women wove also the elegant and almost everlasting coverlet, which was the pride of every good housewife.

They bought cotton yarn, and colored it, and of it made the chain for linsey, the filling being woolen yarn, for the wear of men and boys. When not able to buy cotton yarn for chain, the weaver used tow thread instead, which made coarser cloth. The flax was spun by the women, and so was the tow, on the little wheel, the one making linen, and the

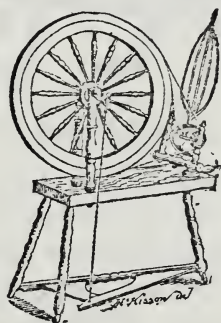


FIG. 17. LITTLE SPINNING WHEEL.

other rough cloth. With the linen thread thus spun, they made the beautiful table cloths, yet to be found in many a country home.

Nearly every neighborhood had a loom, and some woman did the weaving of the flannel, linsey, linen, and tow cloth. Getting the weaving home was a great event in the family, for it meant new clothes. If men were able to buy store cloth, the village tailor generally made the garments; but many housewives made up that sort of clothing also.

An expert in skill was required to weave the coverlet and fine table linen, but such skill was found when needed. There was often made white flannel, to be fulled for men's heavy wear. The women made also sewing thread, and shoe

thread, and often sold them with their surplus flannel, linsey, and linen.

The village or cross roads blacksmith was the manufacturer for most farm implements. He made the axes, hoes and forks used on the farm, sharpened plow points and coulter, shod the horses, made wagons, chains, etc., and was the general repairer of all implements used.

The shaving-horse and drawing-knife, by which were

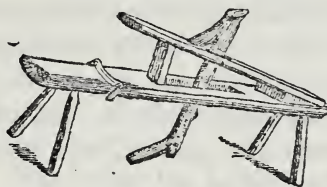


FIG. 18. THE SHAVING HORSE AND DRAWING KNIFE.

made many wooden tools, were found on almost every farm. So were the maul and iron wedge for rail splitting, to build and repair the pioneer worm fence then in universal use on the farm. The broad-ax for hewing timber and the frow for riving clapboards, shingles, and staves, were in every neighborhood.

The water mills on the streams did all the grinding for the people, and ran the machinery for the manufacturing purposes then in use. The old French buhr millstone was used to make flour and meal, as well as chop for stock food. The family milling was usually done on horseback; and when boys were sent the old pack saddle was used, so that



FIG. 19. THE PACK SADDLE.

the bag would not fall off on the way, and also it was used on horses led without riders. Grinding was paid for by the toll, and the customer took his turn in the grinding, and

often had to wait all day for his grist to be done. The writer remembers many a hungry wait for a boy.

The hides of beeves and calves killed, and of cattle dying of disease, were taken to the tanner of the neighboring village to be tanned and finished into leather on the halves. In the fall, when the upper and sole-leather and calfskins were brought home, there would be great rejoicing in the family, as the shoe-maker and new shoes would come soon. The country shoe-maker would be notified and would come with his shoe bench and kit of tools, and stay in the family until he made all the shoes for the family for the winter. Generally but one pair of shoes were furnished in the year for the boys and girls, and during the summer they mostly went barefooted. The writer has a distinct recollection of the time when he could run barefoot over the most stony ground with comfort, and without flinching. No boots were worn by the boys, and few men had them. Some of the more wealthy farmers would patronize the village shoe-maker, and have their leather made up to measurements of each member of the family.

There was another domestic manufacture, the mention of which should not be omitted. Scattered through the country there were many small distilleries, and large ones near the larger towns, where corn, rye and barley were manufactured into whisky. There being no Internal Revenue laws, no government tax upon spirituous liquors, and but slight restriction to their sale, whisky was very cheap, within the reach of almost every person, and was quite generally used. Often peach and apple brandy would also be made. There were no breweries to make beer and ale, so the principal drink for dissipation was whisky or brandy. Farmers could exchange their rye and corn for whisky when they desired it, getting usually one gallon for a bushel of corn, and five quarts for a bushel of rye, the money price for whisky being about twenty-five cents a gallon. Usually at the distilleries hogs and cattle were kept and fattened on the

slop for market, making it a profitable business. These "still houses," as they were commonly called, were places of common resort for the idle, and for drinking men, as well as business men of the neighborhood, and did not prove to be very valuable factors in the moral education of the people.

Many farmers raised their own tobacco, although manufactured chewing and smoking tobacco was very cheap. The habit of chewing and smoking was perhaps as general then as now, among grown up men, but boys scarcely ever smoked or chewed, or used tobacco in any form. The fatal cigarette was not then invented, and cigars of all kinds were much inferior to those now used. The old "cob pipe" was the standby for smoking by old men and women; but clay pipes were sometimes used.

Wherever there were maple or sugar trees, sugar making was a very interesting economy, and the sugar camp was a very popular institution. The process was then a rude and simple one. The trees were tapped in the proper time with an auger or gouge; spiles of sumach, sassafras, or elder were driven in the hole; and the sap ran into a trough made of



FIG. 20. SUGAR TROUGH.

cherry or ash, dug out with the ax. A log hut would be built with either two big logs lying across the front, or a rude furnace built of stones, into which iron kettles would be set, and in which the "sugar water" would be boiled. There was usually a good deal of frolicsome fun as well as hard work about the business of the camp. The boiling was often continued all night, affording a fine opportunity for a lively time among the young people of both sexes, in which card playing and other innocent amusements enlivened the work of the night. Often pleasant visits were exchanged with other camps of the neighborhood. The

"stirring off" was quite an event of the neighborhood, and attracted pleasant visitors, and formed friendly associations around the sugar kettle. The sugar eaten was usually in the form of wax, before it had granulated. Then was the time, too, that the Easter eggs were filled and laid away until Easter came. At the close of the season the sap was mostly made into molasses.

These sweets were found in most farm houses, along with the winter's honey, and added much interest and relish to the buckwheat and corn cakes made for the table.

Then almost every farm was a little kingdom, where nearly everything used in the family was raised and made by its own economy and industry.

WOMEN'S WORK.

The employments of women were confined to a few occupations. Doing house work; sewing, spinning, knitting and weaving, were their principal labor. They were, in fact, the manufacturers in the household. The mothers and daughters made their own clothing, and mostly that of the men and boys of the family.

In those days, the big spinning wheel (page 45) was the most important instrument in the house. To run it was good exercise for the girls. The walking to pull out the woolen thread, and run it on the spindle, brought into exercise the muscles of the limbs, expanded the chest, and generally made them active and healthy, and with their exercise in outdoor life made them a race of strong and well developed women. The little wheel (page 46) was often run at the same time in spinning flax, as well as wool. In the busy time for this work, in almost every household, the hum of the wheels, the merry song of the pretty spinner, with jokes and fun, made pleasant music, and regaled the family with rich enjoyment not excelled by the music of the stage.

The women, as a general thing did the milking and butter-making, using the old dasher churn. Except in a Yankee



FIG. 21. DASHER CHURN.

family no man or boy could be induced to milk the cows, it being regarded as woman's work. But wherever a New Englander was found, he and the boys did the "pailing" of the cows.

Usually the women did most of the gardening, and did the necessary cultivation of all sorts of vegetables raised for the table, as well as the flowers for the door yard. They also cared for the fruit, and dried apples, peaches and smaller fruits, besides attending to the raising of chickens, turkeys, geese and ducks for home use and market.

The women did most of the marketing, and made the purchases at the village store, or of the traveling pedler, then everywhere found. No girl lost caste by "working out," as it was called, and was treated in all company as those who did not do so. Occasionally a woman would be employed to teach the village school in the summer.

Before the advent of the washboard and the washing machine, the washing of clothes was done by our mothers by rubbing with the hands, or beating them with a stick on a bench made of a puncheon, and wringing them with the hands. The clothes were dried upon a grape vine, where they were fastened with thorns for pins. The flat-iron was

then nearly as now, with the exception that never more than one was owned by a family, and neighbors borrowed from each other on ironing day.

DRESS.

The common dress of the boys consisted of linsey pants and wammus or roundabout (but no drawers nor undershirts nor overcoats), with coarse shoes and wool hats or hair seal caps for the winter, and linen and tow cloth and straw hats for the summer. Men often wore the same, but generally had coats and pants made out of fulled flannel, and some were able to wear store clothes made by the village tailor. Plaid cloaks as well as overcoats were worn by the men in the winter. Buttons for shirts were made of flax thread spun at home; and wooden molds covered by hand with some cloth materials answered for buttons on heavy clothing.

The average young man usually had a suit of "broad cloth," made by the tailor, and a fur hat and calfskin shoes, for his Sunday or party rig.

For horseback riding men often had overalls, or used green baize leggins tied on at the knee.

The women and girls, for everyday wear in the winter time, wore flannel dresses, plain, striped, or cross-barred, as fancy might dictate, with quilted or red flannel petticoats. In the summer they generally wore gingham, calico and lawn for dresses, with dimity skirts, and sun bonnets when out of doors. Most of the women and girls had an extra suit or two for dress occasions of alpaca, merino, or other fine goods, with fashionable bonnets, shawls and wraps of various kinds. The corset was then unknown among the girls. Parasols and umbrellas were not very plenty in the family. Powders and cosmetics were not then used for decoration by the women. The bureau drawers or chests were usually filled with rose leaves or wintergreen, to scent the clothing in place of musk. Fashion ruled and controlled

the young people of the farm then about as much as now. Style was as changeable then as now, and troubled the beau and belle to keep up with its demands. Dress in general was as beautiful and comfortable as now, and much less expensive.

TRANSPORTATION.

There were then no railroads in Ohio. Lake Erie on the north, the Ohio Canal running from this lake through the the State to the Ohio river, and the navigable rivers, were the highways on which farm products were carried to market in the east and south. Grain and pork were hauled by wagon, with horses or oxen, great distances to places of market on Lake Erie, the Ohio river, or the canal. The roads had only clay and mud foundations, and were often badly graded. Sometimes they were stoned or corduroyed, but generally were only mud pikes. In the laying out of roads but little attention was paid to grade. Thus many of the most traveled thoroughfares were laid over steep hills when a little foresight and work could have made them pass around the base of the hill, with much lower grade.

Packet boats were run on the canal to carry passengers and accommodate travel, and the writer had many pleasant



FIG. 22. STAGE COACH.

rides upon them in their day. The public travel off the lines of the lake or canal was by means of the old stage coach with four horses, carrying some twelve or fifteen passengers,

besides the public mail on the main routes. The loud blast of the horn, echoing from hill to dale, announced the arrival and departure of the stage. This arrival or departure was usually a great event at the country or village tavern, where would be assembled numbers of curious people to see the public travel and passengers as they would get out or in the coach.

The public mail was generally carried on horseback on the smaller routes and upon cross lines.

For long hauls the four or six-horse covered wagon, the driver riding the near wheel horse with long whip and lines, was used to convey produce to market, and also to haul

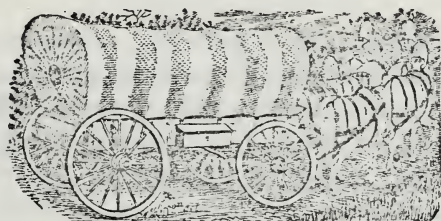


FIG. 23. SIX-HORSE WAGON.

goods from the eastern cities to the country stores for sale. With its feed trough and covered bed it afforded ample accommodation for the driver as well as the horses in making the trips forward and back. The tar box and the linch pin constituted an important part of the machinery.

There were no steel spring buggies or carriages then. Little wagons, called "carryalls," with wooden springs, and common two-horse wagons without springs, were the vehicles in use for riding to church or on business by the farmers and their families. Generally the local travel was on horseback or afoot for short distances and sometimes long ones. So men and women became expert horseback riders, and thus rode to church and other public gatherings. Generally from parties and gatherings at night the girls were taken home by the boys on the same horse, the girl riding behind the boy, with one arm necessarily around him to hold on—a

jolly way to ride. Hence it was a common inquiry in the purchase or trade for a horse, "Will he carry double?"

There was a great pride among the young people to have a good traveling horse, speedy if necessary, and elegant saddles and bridles, with as much work and decoration as could be obtained upon them. It was a very common thing for the men to use spurs in riding, as it was for the girls to have nice riding whips and to know how to use them to make time when desirable. The writer, when a boy, had many a horse race with the girls.

FRUITS, NUTS.

The wild strawberry, growing in the meadows, the raspberry and blackberry, growing in the fence corners and waste places, the huckleberry growing on the hills, the service berry and the wild grape growing in the woods, the gooseberry, currant, dewberry, elderberry, mulberry, wild cherry, the haw, wild red plum, cranberry, and crabapple, constituted the principal small fruits of that day. The currant and gooseberry were to some extent cultivated in the garden, but not the strawberry, grape, raspberry, or blackberry.

The chestnut, hickory nut, black walnut, butternut, and hazelnut, were carefully gathered and stored away for winter use by the average boy, and the hogs gathered the beech nuts and acorns and fattened upon them.

Apples, peaches and pears were generally of native stock, greatly inferior to those now cultivated. Little attention was paid to their improvement by cultivation. Fruits were mostly dried for winter use and hardly ever were preserved with sugar, and the canning process was unknown.

The tomato, now so universally used, was then laid upon the mantel for an ornament, with the mother's injunction that it was poisonous and must not be eaten.

Apple butter boiling in the fall was quite an event in the family, and so was making pumpkin butter. These were

much used, and were found in the winter in every well regulated family.

Wherever there was an apple orchard, cider making demanded the attention of the farmer, and the cider barrel would be found on tap during winter evenings.

Sweet corn was not then cultivated for the table; no rhubarb (also called pie plant), or celery or horse radish, was then raised in the garden, or used on the table.

FARM STOCK.

The horses in common use for work on the farm were of common breed, hardy and strong. No care had been exercised to improve them by breeding. There were, however, in every neighborhood a few well bred horses and mares, some of them thoroughbred, and these were the riding horses of the time, as well as the race horses, so much prized by the people. There were then no trotting or pacing horses for speed. All the racing was done by the running horse, and he was the measure of speed on the race course.

Cattle, sheep, and hogs, were generally of common breed. A few Durham and Devon cattle were beginning to appear



FIG. 24. Ox Yoke.

on the farm. Hogs and sheep have been greatly improved by modern breeding, as well as all farm stock. The old dung-hill fowl, with a slight sprinkling of the game, constituted the farm poultry. They hatched the natural way. Geese and ducks were found on almost every farm. From these were plucked yearly the feathers which formed a part of the country trade, as well as those that made the grand

feather beds of our mothers and grandmothers, of which they were so justly proud.

Nearly every farmer had one or more yoke of oxen, and occasionally a team of mules, both of which teams were often used for plowing. When three horses were used for a team, one was hitched in front, and not alongside of the two as now. A horse also would be often hitched before a yoke of oxen to add strength to the team.

SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS.

The occasions of farm gatherings at the time of which we write consisted of corn huskings, flax pullings, apple paring bees, quiltings, log rollings, and wood choppings. A short description of each may be interesting to the reader of to-day.

Corn huskings were quite popular gatherings. The farmer would pull the corn with husks on from the stalk in the field, haul it to the barn or pile it outside under some cover. Then huskers would be invited, and sometimes girls would be invited and participate. The corn pile would be divided, and captains chosen, and huskers divided equally for the work, and the merry contest would begin, and victory would make the winning leader, of the side that finished first, a hero for the time. When girls were present one law was always enforced; that was, that he who should find a red ear should be allowed to kiss the girl next to him. Sometimes it was said, some rascal would be guilty of the fraud of carrying red ears from home in his pocket to win the kisses.

Flax pullings would be attended by the young people of both sexes, who would go into the flax patch and pull up the ripened flax, and carefully spread it upon the ground to rot and bleach.

At apple parings boys and girls would put in the evening paring apples, cutting them in quarters, coring them, and

stringing upon long strings, to be hung up to be dried around the kitchen fire.

The log rollings and wood choppings would be attended by the young men, whilst the girls would be engaged in quilting or sewing in the house, and all meet at the generous supper. These gatherings generally ended with a dance or a jolly party. The anticipation of meeting the girls would generally bring the boys to the hard work of the day, and to "go home with the girls in the morning."

The dance was a favorite amusement and was indulged in by old and young. The fiddler of the occasion was the center of attraction of the evening. He regulated and called the dances and was commander-in-chief. The "French Four," "Money Musk," "Virginia reel," "the jig," and the "hoe down," were the principal figures danced. The "French Four" usually presented the opportunity to "cut the pigeon wing," which required great activity and practice to accomplish. The dancing of that time required much more muscle to be successful than the present graceful glide or even waltz. "The Devil's Dream," "Fisher's Hornpipe," "Old Soomer licked the ladle," and "Sugar in the gourd," were favorite tunes on the fiddle. The player generally knew nothing about keys, sharps or flats, or notes or written music, but played with inspiring vigor, by air, and with the "spirit and the understanding."

It often happened that in some neighborhoods the young people did not dance, and they would amuse themselves in plays of various character. "Sister Phœbe," "hunting the thimble," "Pussey wants a corner," and "Marching to Quebec," were the leading plays, "Sister Phœbe" being usually the favorite. This verse:

"Sister Phœbe, how merry were we
When we sat under the juniper tree;
Put this hat on to keep the head warm,
Take a sweet kiss, 'twill do no harm,"

no doubt had much to do with its great popularity.

The singing school was a great event in the neighborhood, and was held every winter and attended by the young and old of both sexes. Often the big sled filled with straw and young people made a gay and lively sleighing party. A teacher was usually employed for so many nights or lessons. The singing was done by what was called the "buckwheat notes." These schools greatly improved the music in congregations and also in families. The old people of to-day will no doubt remember the great pleasure they experienced in singing "Old Hundred," "America," "Greenfields," "Coronation," and other tunes of "ye olden times."

Debating societies were held on winter evenings, in most neighborhoods, where young and old participated in interesting subjects of debate. Such questions as these would be discussed and often drew out good powers for debate :

"Which has the greater right to complain of the United States, the Indian or the negro?"

"Who deserves the greater credit, Christopher Columbus or George Washington?"

"Who was the greatest general, Julius Cæsar or Napoleon Bonaparte?"

"Which is the more destructive element, fire or water?"

"In which is the greater pleasure, pursuit or possession?"

and many other subjects of a like character. These singings and debates were valuable factors in the education of the people.

The shooting and raffling match was another standing amusement. It usually occurred about Christmas and New Year's. A man would buy a quantity of goods, coffee, tea, etc., and have them put up in small parcels and put them up to be shot or raffled for at so much per chance, thereby getting a good price for the article, as well as affording interest and amusement to the contestants. The shooting was with the rifle at a target in the daytime, and the raffling continued after nightfall. Copper cents were placed in a hat, shaken up and thrown upon a table by the holder of a chance, and the most heads in a given number of throws would win the prize. After all the goods were disposed of, generally games of cards for money would be resorted to, and in that

way finish out the evening's meeting. "Seven up" or "old sledge" was the usual and most favorite game. Sometimes "three up" was played, being a much shorter game.

Shooting New Year was another amusement of the times. A party of men would mask themselves, and with their guns, go from house to house about midnight on New Year's eve, wake up the household by a volley from their guns, and wish all a "happy New Year." Generally they would be invited into the house and be treated to whisky, apples, cider, and cake, and have a jolly good time.

Coon hunting was an interesting amusement for young men and boys. A good coon night would be selected, and with the noted "coon dog" and gun, the woods would be hunted over, and when his coonship was treed, if the tree happened to be too large to climb to get the coon, down it must come. It was the law of the hunt and of the woods that whether it was a good rail, clapboard, or shingle tree, it might be felled without the consent of the owner. The same rule applied to bee trees found by the bee hunter, who was then entitled to the honey as the result of the finding of the tree, no difference on whose land it was found. The coon has always been a favorite game, and has been closely identified with pioneer life. In the celebrated Presidential campaign of 1840 he played a conspicuous part in the great meetings of the people, and was adopted as the representative of the great successful party of that day.

As to cutting bee trees many good stories were told of conflicts over the fallen trees for the honey. Often efforts would be made to steal the honey, by cutting the tree at night, and sometimes the finder or some other party would organize to drive away the cutting party and as soon as the tree would fall rush upon the tree and drive the other party away, taking the honey in triumph home.

Horse races were a regular and very favorite amusement. They consisted of a quarter and half a mile straight races, or one, two and three miles on a circular track. This class

of races were called Fairs, and generally took place after harvest as a sort of harvest home. These races were all running races, and the horse was ridden by a jockey. Often horses would be required to make three heats of a mile each, the rule being that the winning horse must take two out of three heats. The heats would sometimes be fixed at two or three miles each, and require two out of three of the heats to win the race. These long races on circular tracks would usually occupy three or four days, with special purses for each day and race. The best and fastest horses of the country would be brought to these Fairs, and large crowds of people of both sexes attended them.

The most noted race of this kind was made on the Indian Field track on Owl Creek, and the distance run was nine miles. Three horses made it. "Old Hippy," an Owl Creek horse, partly thoroughbred, who had never been beaten in a three-mile race, was one of the entries; and two other thoroughbred horses from Kentucky, named Red Fox and Jackson, were the other two. The heats were three times around the mile track. Red Fox took the first heat, "Old Hippy" being second and Jackson the third. The second heat was won by "Old Hippy," Red Fox being second and Jackson third. The third heat, deciding the race, was won by "Old Hippy," with Jackson second and Red Fox third. This was the most exciting race that ever occurred in that region of the country, not so much, however, for the amount of the purse, as for the speed and endurance of the horses.

Fox hunting was a rare sport, and chasing the fox with a pack of hounds over hill and dale, with the music of their bark and the excitement of horse and rider, was regarded as a manly exercise. Times would be fixed for the hunt and invitations sent out to the owners of hounds as well as lovers of the chase to join it, and large numbers would usually be present at the start. Great rivalry would be exhibited in having the fastest dog, and he who was in at the death first carried off, in triumph, the fox's tail as a distinguished trophy.

Cock fights would occasionally take place. At times there would be a great rage for this amusement, when game chickens would command a high price. The dung-hill rooster couldn't match the game cock, and blood and breeding would tell in this as in other departments of nature.

Foot racing, wrestling, jumping, and pitching quoits, were indulged in at all public gatherings, to while away the time, and afforded very popular amusements.

The circus and menagerie on a small scale visited the towns and villages every summer, and large numbers of people would attend. The monkey, and the pony, and elephant, were always great sights for the young folks to enjoy. The circus riding and tumbling, with the fun of the clown, always made these shows popular.

Fishing was a great sport. With hook and line and seine, the rivers and streams were relieved of their finny inhabitants, and our tables were abundantly supplied with healthy and delicious food.

MILITARY MUSTERS OR PARADES.

The whole male population of the county between eighteen and forty-five years of age composed the militia force, under the law, and usually constituted but one regiment with its necessary officers. This force was required to meet by companies once a year for drill, and afterward the whole regiment would meet for one day's drill, either at the county seat or some other place named. Besides, there were one or more regiments of volunteers in the county called rifle regiments, which were required to be uniformed. These regiments, too, had their company meetings. Then all the commissioned officers, including those of the militia, met at the county seat for two days' drill, called "Officer's Muster." The whole rifle regiments were required to meet once a year for regimental drill. These grand military displays always gathered a large crowd of citizens, and constituted a general holiday.

The "big musters" were notorious for the opportunities afforded for horse trades and swaps. Usually held in the fall, it was a great occasion for the sale and consumption of melons, of which there would be a great slaughter. The rowdy element, found more or less in every community, would use it as an occasion to settle many a quarrel by a knock-down fight. The lover of the horse race would also have his opportunity to show the speed of his favorite; and the athletes would have many a foot race and wrestling match. So these gatherings were looked upon and waited for as great events of the county; they afforded a pleasant change in the routine of every-day country life, and were greatly enjoyed by the people.

WEDDINGS.

Weddings have been interesting and popular in all times. Sixty years ago there seemed to be more in proportion to the population than now. Fewer old maids and bachelors were then "left in the cold." The ceremony was more simple, and was performed with much less expense for wardrobe or outfit. No wedding presents were usually expected.

The average girl was considered well provided for when her mother furnished her with a good bed and bedding, a side saddle, a cow, six knives and forks, the same number of plates, cups and saucers, teaspoons and tablespoons, a tea-kettle, dutch oven, and a wash tub, in addition to her wedding and Sunday dresses. Generally the bride wore a neat cap made out of light stuff, and well trimmed with ribbons, and the groom wore his best new suit made for the occasion.

Bridal tours were not then taken to any extent, and usually housekeeping immediately commenced. The night of the wedding the couple generally had a grand serenade, the music being made by cow-bells, horse fiddles, and horns, not very harmonious, but loud in tones. The next day after

the wedding there would usually be what was called an "Infair," at the home of the groom, where most of the wedding guests would meet and have a great family dinner.

There was a custom of running for the bottle at the infair. Three or four of the party having the best horses, the cavalcade being generally on horseback, would start in a race to reach the groom's home first; it often was a neck-and-neck race for miles; and he who got there first was entitled to the bottle filled with whisky, with a red ribbon around its neck, which he would carry back with great pride to the coming company, and for the time he would be the hero of the occasion.

It was a trite saying when a younger brother or sister was married before the older, that the older one must "dance in the hog trough."

The opportunities for courting in those days were not so good as now. As a general thing the family room must be



FIG. 25.
TALLOW CANDLE.



FIG. 26.
CANDLE MOLD.



FIG. 27.
SNUFFERS.

occupied by the young folks at night and courting done after the old folks had gone to bed. The neighborhood gatherings made it convenient, however, to meet often and make love. When the weather was suitable, strolls about the farm, hunting berries, or for exercise in walking, were improved, so that the privacy needed was usually obtained.

The lighting of the house was by the iron lard lamp, hung upon a nail, or by a candle dip or molded tallow candle stuck in a holder or candle-stick and brightened with snuffers. The blazing hickory fire also added light as well as warmth to the room, and cheer to the young folks.

RELIGIOUS MEETINGS.

In those days there was quite as much morality and piety as at the present time. Every neighborhood and village had its regular preaching, and churches of all denominations were established and generally well attended. Meetings were not held so often, however. In the congregation the women were seated on one side and the men on the other, keeping separate during their worship. This was the general custom, and usually enforced.

The Methodists had a system of circuits, and each minister was assigned to one. They usually traveled on horseback, and stayed with some member near the place of preaching. A single man was entitled to receive from the congregation one hundred dollars yearly, and a married man one hundred dollars in addition for his wife, and fifty dollars for each of his children. His circuit would occupy his whole time. Other preachers had stated places to preach, did not do so much traveling, and were generally better paid.

The camp meeting was the great institution of the time. It was always held in some shady grove, with good springs, near some public road and easy of access. Log huts would be built around a hollow square, with a large platform for a pulpit at one side, and rude seats in front to accommodate the congregation. The shanties would be filled by members and their families coming from many miles around. The meetings would usually last a week, with preaching day and night. Large crowds of people always attended. The preaching was of a high order, and the best and most eloquent ministers of the church would generally be in attendance.

The meetings at night, with lamp and torch lights in the grand old woods, the singing of the immense congregation, the weird appearance of the great trees and dense foliage, with the blue canopy above, presented a scene of grandeur, and a sublimity of worship, not likely to be forgotten.

These grand gatherings spread a wide and healthy moral and religious influence over the country, and did great good in the religious education of the people. Alas! we shall never see them repeated. They are gone with the Past.

THE VILLAGE STORE.

The neighboring village was a great place of resort, particularly on Saturdays. The women would come to trade and purchase supplies, and the men to meet and talk over the news of the times, and to get their mail. There were no daily newspapers, and but few weekly ones were taken except the county papers, and but few books were within reach of the people. Hence the village store was made the headquarters for general information to be obtained by these weekly meetings. Particularly in the long winter evenings, the store would be visited by the surrounding farmers to gather what information they could in that way. In the warm corner would be seen the village doctor, the squire, the blacksmith, the shoemaker, tailor, and other mechanics, often the preacher and the politician, and the school teacher. There would nightly be discussed the gossip of the day, the politics of the times, all religious questions, financial matters, and particularly the characters of the people. These gatherings in fact molded the public opinion of the village and the neighborhood, and kept all well posted on the leading questions of the day, and filled the place of the daily paper of the present time.

The store was the medium of exchange for the farmer. It took in exchange for goods all sorts of produce of the farm, such as butter, eggs, cheese, rags, feathers, beeswax, tallow, lard, hops, corn, wheat, pork, cider, fur, and even ginseng gathered by the people. These products would be sold by the country merchant at Pittsburgh, or farther east, whither they would often be hauled with the big wagons.

The merchant generally sold a great part of his goods on credit and collected up twice a year.

Country merchants traveled east on horseback or by stage to purchase their goods. There were then agents or runners of wholesale houses in the east, who traveled on horseback and took orders, which saved the merchants many tedious trips for goods. Traveling peddlers also visited the stores and sold many articles at wholesale to the merchants, which enabled the retail dealers to keep up their stock in some measure without frequently visiting the eastern cities.

THE VILLAGE DOCTOR.

Nearly every village had its physician who was generally the learned man of the place, and the scientific and literary oracle of the neighborhood. Sometimes there would be two or more located in the same village; and when that occurred, there was usually kept up a terrible war between them, resulting often in neighborhood quarrels, as sides might be taken by the friends of either.

Generally the doctors visited their country patients, in sometimes long rides, on horseback with their medicines packed in their "pill bags" ready to be administered as occasion might require.

The diseases, and many of the remedies, were then like those of the present time. But one treatment then seemed to be adopted by all the "regulars," that is, bleeding for most ailments, particularly for fevers. It was not then discovered that the use of quinine was a much better remedy, as now used by the medical profession in all parts of the world. People did not call the doctor for every little trouble, but only when there seemed to be great danger of serious disease, or sudden injury from accident.

About this time a class of doctors made their appearance, who made war on the "bloody regulars" and discarded all but vegetable remedies. They were called "Thomsonian,"

from the name of the founder; and from their using hot baths and sweatings, were also called "steam doctors." For a while they nearly took the field from the mineral doctors. Their controversies and contentions made it exceedingly interesting to the afflicted. But time soon settled the controversy in favor of the educated physicians.

The family physician was then the general adviser in most family matters and much more relied on than at the present time. Medical knowledge was not then so diffused among the people as now and was principally confined to the medical men. There was a very general belief that a seventh son in successive order had some unusual charm or power to cure disease by laying on of hands. The writer remembers one who was taken far and near to cure ailments of different kinds, so much so that his friends concluded to make him a doctor. He studied medicine in the regular way, and became a celebrated physician, but in his practice he discarded the laying-on-of-hands process, and used the remedies prescribed in the medical books. Marvelous stories were told, and often believed, of the wonderful cures effected by his boyhood practice. It was further believed by many that certain persons were gifted with the power of stopping bleeding, and of drawing the fire out of scalds and burns, by the laying on of hands and repeating of words of charm; and that others could cure the bots in horses by the repeating of certain cabalistic words.

Then, as now, wherever there were doctors, there would be funerals, not because of the doctors, but as the result of diseases, accidents, and old age. The funerals of that day were like the population, plain and inexpensive. There were no costly metallic caskets, ready made to be purchased and used; the village cabinet-maker usually made wooden coffins for the dead, and it did not nearly ruin the estate to bury its owner. The remainder of the estate, moreover, was not then greatly diminished by the officers and attorneys charged with its settlement and distribution.

There were no professional dentists. The "regular" doctor pulled all the teeth, and administered to those aching. If the pain was not stopped with medicine applied, then out it must come. If teeth decayed without pain, they remained without filling, until they became loose and then were extracted. No artificial teeth were then made and used to replace those extracted.

About this time a few dentists were beginning to make their appearance in the larger towns, making a specialty of treatment of the teeth, but they had not reached country families. Therefore, among the country people, was seen a much greater proportion of bad teeth than now.

VILLAGE AND COUNTRY TAVERNS.

Taverns were found in every village and at many public places on traveled roads in the country. Besides affording accommodations for man and beast, they were authorized by law to sell without restriction all sorts of liquors desired by their customers. This made them places of common resort, where the idle and the curious were wont to assemble, and usually they had many visitors on Saturdays and holidays, and in times of bad weather when farmers could not work. The taverns, like the store, served the purpose of a daily newspaper to learn the gossip of the neighborhood, and afforded opportunity to meet and discuss the leading questions of the day, to learn the current news of the times, as well as to trade horses, or have a horse race, or a fight.

In those days the habit of drinking liquors was more universal than now, and there was only a very weak public sentiment in favor of temperance. The law required every keeper of a tavern to obtain a license from the Court of Common Pleas of the county for that purpose. To obtain such license the applicant had to prove to the satisfaction of the court that:

1. He was of good, moral character.

2. A tavern was necessary at the place designated.
3. The applicant had suitable accommodations.
4. He was a suitable person to keep a tavern.

It was an easy matter to make this proof. A man of notorious bad character, whose wife was a good cook and housekeeper, as the writer remembers, once made application for a license to keep a village tavern and produced his two witnesses who swore to the affirmative of the four items required, and the Court ordered the license. Meeting the Judge with whom he was personally acquainted afterward, he said to the Judge, "I wouldn't have swore as them fellers did for the best hoss I ever owned." The Judge replied, "Yes, Joe. I knew your character, but I decided on the evidence before me."

These licenses had to be renewed each year and a small fee paid to the county. Keeping a tavern without a license was indictable and subjected the party to a fine; but there was no accountability for injuries resulting from producing drunkenness to families or the community. The old-fashioned sign swinging on the top of a post in front of the house, with the names of the tavern and its keeper, notified the public of its existence as a tavern.

THE MONEY.

The money then in use consisted of gold, silver, and copper, and paper issued by the local banks of Ohio and other states, and also notes issued by the Bank of the United States at Philadelphia (Biddle's Bank). This bank was chartered by Congress, but was owned by individual stockholders, and the government had no interest in it and did not issue its notes.

The general government did not issue any paper to circulate as money. Its currency consisted alone of gold, silver, and copper, coined at its mints. The gold coin was in five,

ten, and twenty dollar pieces; silver coin in six and one-fourth cents (called "fips"), twelve and a half cents (called shillings), twenty-five cent, fifty cent, and one dollar pieces; and copper was coined in big cent pieces. Bank notes were issued in denominations of one, two, three, five, ten, twenty, fifty, and one hundred dollars.

There was in circulation much of the silver coin of Mexico and Spain and also one- and five-franc pieces of the French coin. Stockholders of the Ohio banks were individually liable for the debts of the banks, and were required to have at least thirty per cent. of their circulation in gold and silver in their vaults.

The bank notes of one state did not circulate readily in another state, making it very inconvenient for travel or business outside the state. The frequent failures of these local banks, and the liability of their notes to be counterfeited, made this paper money unsafe and consequently cheap money. The banks were required to pay specie for their notes, but they could and did often suspend such payment, thereby making their currency inferior to gold and silver.

POST OFFICES.

The village and country post offices were supplied with the mail by carriers on horseback, and most of them only once a week. In these days of cheap postage as well as rapid delivery, it may be interesting to give also the postage rates of the period we are considering. Postage was not then required to be prepaid, but might be paid at either end of the route. Letter postage for over four hundred miles was twenty-five cents; for less than four hundred miles and over three hundred, eighteen and three-fourths cents; under three hundred and over one hundred miles, twelve and a half cents; under one hundred miles, six and one-fourth cents. Letters were sealed with red wafers or sealing wax.

No envelopes were used, and letters must be only one sheet or piece of paper. If two pieces of paper were used, double postage must be paid. No stamps were then used. Newspaper postage was correspondingly high, and mailable matter very light in weight.

LITIGATION AND COURTS.

In those days there was but little litigation in the shape of lawsuits. Indeed it was regarded as a disgrace to have a lawsuit with a neighbor. Contracts were generally lived up to, and performed without bond or note. Among neighbors contracts were scarcely ever reduced to writing, or, in the words of an old lady to the writer, "never black and whited to make 'em stick."

With such a general custom of trade among the people—of barter and exchange, horse swaps, sales and purchases—it was remarkable that so few lawsuits resulted from these various business transactions. Men seemed to regard their word as good as their bond, or were afraid of the law.

The justice of the peace was the great law officer, from whose decision but few appeals were taken. He made all the deeds and wills, married most of the people, and was the general adviser of his township.

The Court of Common Pleas was then composed of a president judge for a district, and three associate judges for the county, or for any three counties, all elected by the Legislature for a term of seven years. It had original and appellate jurisdiction, and had control of all administration business of the county, in the probate of wills and the settlement of estates.

The Supreme Court of the state was then composed of three judges, elected by the Legislature for the term of seven years, two of whom could hold the court. They were required to hold a term of the Supreme Court once a year

in each county, besides their duties in Banc at the seat of government. They generally traveled over the state on horseback with saddle-bags containing their clothes and papers.

The first day of the County Court was usually a big day at the county seat. Many farmers would take that occasion to visit the town for business or pleasure and to see the court start off with its business.

FINANCIAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION.

As a general thing the common farmer was comparatively poor, but at the same time comfortable and well contented. His wants, and those of his family, outside of their own productions, were few. Wages were low, as well as the price of his products. Harvest hands then got only fifty cents a day. There were few large home manufactories to make him a home market, so that his business was mostly conducted on the line of barter and trade. His taxes likewise were low, and county and state expenses not great. Salaries of officers were low and fewer of them. The hardest thing that the farmer had to encounter was the high price of many goods sold in the store, such as muslin, calico, loaf sugar, tea and coffee. Often he had to give a bushel of wheat for a pound of coffee or a pound of loaf sugar. To some extent, he could, and did, do without some of these articles. With hard work and good economy he usually made the ends meet, and waited for better times without bitterness or envy or complaint.

There were then few millionaires in Ohio, and few corporations to control public affairs. People were not infected with the wild craze of money-making and speculation, and kept out of debt in a great measure. They were content to live within their means. Mortgages upon the farms were scarcely ever made. Rents were generally paid in kind.

With few temptations, people were generally honest and moral. Crimes were seldom committed, but when perpetrated were very surely and promptly punished.

Farm work was hard, because of the lack of labor-saving machinery; and it was conducted on a much smaller scale than now, and so less money was made. It required good economy, great industry, and careful saving to maintain the family and to properly bring up the children to be useful citizens. The silver dollar seemed big and bright to the farmer of that time.

The average intelligence of the farmer and his wife of that day was not as high as now. He was without the benefit of the daily papers, and had but few publications or books within his reach. The young people did not study or read as now, from want of leisure as well as the general scarcity of literary publications of that day. Lectures, sermons, and speeches, had to some extent to be depended upon to keep up with the times.

The farmer had not the benefit of agricultural papers or books to enable him to improve his methods of culture or stock raising. There were then no farmers' organizations, such as clubs, Alliances, and Granges; no county or state fairs; no farmers' institutes, nor agricultural colleges or experiment stations, to give information leading to better methods than those of their fathers. In fact there was no book farming.

The young man followed in the steps of his father; plowed, sowed, and planted as he did; cultivated, gathered and preserved the crops as had been done before him. Whilst improvements in every thing around him, in most departments of life, were going on, he pursued the "even tenor of his way," unaffected by the progress of the times.

The social relations of the farming population were generally kept upon the most friendly terms, with visiting and intercourse of all kinds genial and pleasant. Neighborly borrowing and lending were of the most accommodating

character. Slander and defamation were hardly ever indulged in any neighborhood.

Good moral deportment characterized the common associations in society. Very few separations or divorces were made or obtained, and few marriage engagements broken. Then, as in all ages of the world, the young people "danced, made love, married, suffered, and fell asleep."

Although not published around, there was, in many neighborhoods, an undercurrent of belief in witchcraft. Many believed that persons as well as animals were bewitched, and that the mysterious witches were located among the people. They were generally believed to be females. Many were the stories, treasured "in the dim vista" of rural history, of their strange machinations and diabolical deeds. The writer remembers a pretended witch doctor residing in a village, a fine mechanic, who, not believing a word of the superstition, made money out of the ignorant, by pretending to shoot witches with silver bullets, molded out of quarters and half-dollars furnished him for that purpose by the friends of bewitched persons or owners of animals believed to be bewitched.

Fortune telling was believed in by many, and most neighborhoods or villages had their pretended fortune teller, who played upon the credulity of many of the young people, who desired to see into the future of their career in life. Many of the older people believed in ghosts, and many were the stories of actual sights of them in haunted houses, and lonely hollows, and about graveyards. The children of the household were regaled around the hearthstone with these wonderful tales of seeing and encountering ghosts in almost every form and shape, making such deep impressions that years of after life and intelligent thought could scarcely erase from the memory or destroy this early belief in the ghost.

Then there were no insane asylums, nor schools or asylums for the deaf and dumb, nor for the blind or imbecile. This

class of population had to be provided for by relatives and friends of the unfortunate in a private way. Indeed it was not then known that there was any remedy or cure for the insane, and the straight jacket and close confinement constituted the general treatment of the poor victims. Neither were there reformatories for vicious and uncontrollable boys and girls as now; the state took no interest in that class, but parents had to do the best they could for them individually.

NOW AND THEN.

Standing on the proud eminence of the Present, with a high order of civilization and refinement, characterized by great triumphs of genius, and the highest form of civil liberty guaranteed to us by the best government ever established, it is pleasant to look back over the almost forgotten Past, and to note the progress made in our country, as well as by the people, in the threescore years that have elapsed since the times of which we write. It has been an eventful period in the world's history. Great events have transpired, and wonderful inventions and discoveries have been made. Society has greatly changed, and manners and customs have improved in that time. Great labor-saving inventions have been discovered and utilized to relieve the hard burdens of life.

The rights of the citizens have been greatly enlarged and better protected. Great changes have occurred in the relations of women in the community. Then the married woman had scarcely any rights to property, and but few other rights under the law, and but few occupations were open to her. Now she possesses the same rights of person and property as men. All professions and occupations are now open to women, and they are everywhere in institutions of learning and business brought in successful competition with men, in the battle of life.

Within that time the Common School System has been created and perfected, so that all children of our state, rich or poor, white or black, are alike furnished with a good education at public expense.

Within that time steam and electricity have been applied for purposes of navigation and machinery. The daguerreo-type, photography, short-hand, and type-writing, have been invented. The telegraph and telephone have utilized one of the elements of nature to such perfection that we can now talk across continents, and under seas, and chat with a distant friend by lightning. Cities and houses are now lighted by gas and electricity and by oil dug out of the earth. Ohio then had no railroads; now we have one to every county seat of eighty-eight counties. Then there were but few short railroads in the world; now we have over a hundred thousand miles in the United States, more than all the world beside. The Atlantic is connected by iron bands with the Pacific, and a trip can now be made across the continent without a change of cars.

Within that time Texas, California, and Alaska, have been added to our territory, and the great West has been opened up to settlement, while from our rich gold and silver mines thousands of millions have been added to the money of the world.

Within that time Russia has liberated over twenty millions of her serfs; our country has freed all its slaves, some four millions; and our sister, Brazil, has emancipated her millions of slaves. The celebrated house of Bourbon, that, it is said, never learned nor forgot any thing, has been driven from every throne of Europe, and Freedom and Equality have been everywhere strengthened and advanced. The countries of North and South America are now governed by republican forms of government, and there is not a slave on either continent.

In the improvements of commerce, manufacturing, invention of labor-saving machinery, multiplication of newspa-

pers and books, the world has made great strides in the pathway of progress.

Within these sixty years the palace car has taken the place of the lumbering stage coach, the freight train does the former work of the big covered wagon, the elegant buggy and carriage are now used instead of the saddle horse, and the bicycle relieves the footman; the sickle, scythe, and cradle have given place to the reaper and binder and mower, and the flail and the sheet to thrasher and separator; the old Barshear to the sulky plow; hand sowing and planting to the seeder and check-row planter; the hand rake to the sulky horse rake; the fork and stick to the tedder; and the hay-loader and fork and railway for loading and moving hay have taken the place of the hay fork and muscle to do the work. The hoe is superseded by the sulky cultivator in the raising of corn. The old triangle harrow has given place to the Acme and the Disc; the potato planter and digger compete with the old hoe; and the stump puller with the mattock and spade. The incubator is crowding the business of the old setting hen. The hand card has been superseded by the carding machine; the big and little wheel, by the spinning jenny, with its hundreds of threads drawn at a time, run by steam; the old hand loom is discarded for the steam loom, with its thousands of hands to work it. The old lard lamp has given place to the elegant oil parlor lamp and burner, and the flint and steel have long been superseded by the handy match in every household; the string to dry apples has a successful rival in the fruit evaporator; and the sewing machine, whose pleasant murmur is heard in almost every house, is crowding the hand needle, and the knitting machine is making inroads upon the knitting needles of our mothers. The wind pump has taken the place of

“ The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,
The moss-covered bucket, that hung in the well.”

Thus in many ways have ingenuity and invention relieved farm labor of its hard toil.

Also everywhere the old log cabin and log barn have given place to the elegant farm house, the beautiful cottage, and commodious barns and convenient stables and outhouses. To-day our farming population has finer and better homes than those of any other country on the globe; and with the multiplication of newspapers, periodicals and books, with cheap postage and rapid delivery, with good schoolhouses and colleges, the farmer and his family have the necessary advantages for education and information to enable them to rank with the best of the land.

Furthermore, through the Department of Agriculture, and the agricultural experiment stations, organized exclusively to deal with and take care of the interests of agriculture, with an expenditure of over four and a half million dollars yearly by the general government for its benefit and advancement, and with the expenditure of some five millions of dollars by the States for the same purpose, and with the further aid of over three hundred newspapers and journals, devoted exclusively to agriculture, besides a like number of papers partly devoted to the same interest, there is certainly no ground of complaint that in this country the best interests of those engaged in all the branches of agriculture are not well looked after by the state and national government. No other occupation is so well cared for and protected, and no government does more for this great interest than ours.

THE FARMER AND HIS OCCUPATION.

The occupation of Agriculture is the foundation of all other business—the bed rock of our society and government. The farmer population, with its patriotism and conservatism, constitutes the safety of the nation. By its labor and industry it feeds the people and sustains the state. An army, without its commissary department, would do but little service

in protecting the life of the nation. Agriculture is the great commissary department of the government and the people.

Of agriculture, Gen. Washington once said: "It is the most healthful, the most useful, and most noble employment of men." The Staffordshire potters have a saying that "working in the earth makes men easy minded."

Agriculture is a national interest. The importance of this branch of industry, the great interest to develop, the wide field for improvement, demand the fostering care of the general government. Our people are, in the main, agricultural people. With productive lands, every variety of soil and climate, growing the products of almost every land, we have the capacity to develop the greatest agricultural resources of any country on the globe. This interest, as well as capital, must be taken care of by the government. There is no need of any conflict in this country between labor and capital. They are co-workers; the one cannot dispense with the other. Capital is, however, more able to take care of itself than labor. In the old countries in Europe, capital is supreme and labor subordinate. Not so in this country. Here it is reversed, and labor is the great factor of our national prosperity and advancement.

The farmer has not heretofore stood as high in the estimate of society as he deserved. This was, to a great extent, his own fault. Modest and unassuming, he did not stand up for and assert his right to respectability and recognition among the people.

A broader education, together with the aid of farmer associations, now enable him to take his deservedly high standing among men. His intelligence, ability, and knowledge, now fix his place in society and give him recognition among men without reference to his occupation. He now finds that he, as those engaged in other pursuits, must bring to bear in his occupation study and active energy, and business principles, in order to succeed. He must follow the example of the suc-

cessful business man of the city, if he would be a successful farmer.

The life of a farmer, although a busy one, with much hard work always to be done, with great care, and some responsibility, is comparatively an independent one. With ordinary labor and care, he is sure of a good living for himself and family, and reasonable profits and gain. He is in a great measure relieved of the anxiety and worry incident to almost every other occupation. Seed time and harvest come to him in their regular order. His stock and crops grow day and night, with no wet days or holidays to make a stop in his increase. With health-giving work, pure air, heaven's bright sunshine over him, no miasma to destroy his health and shorten his days, he lives a peaceful life. His labor is greatly relieved by the variety of machinery with which his work is done, thereby lessening the drudgery of earlier days on the farm.

Go into the large manufactories of the towns and cities, and see the hard work of the operatives, surrounded by fire and smoke, grease, dirt and filth, for ten hours of the day, with bad air, in close rooms, no wonder they do not live out half their days. When work stops, their earnings cease. But the farm hand has work in all seasons.

Visit the office of the lawyer or doctor, and you will find him much of the time without anything to do. He must spend months and years in waiting for employment. Then contrast the responsibilities in his calling—the worry of restless nights, and uneasy days—over the interests of clients and patients, with the quiet life of the farmer who sleeps soundly of nights. So of the merchants and business men in all departments of trade and business. It is one constant fret and worry to manage and control their business; and such men often fail and are broken down in health long before their time in due course of nature.

Official life may seem desirable, but when obtained, the responsible duties of the place, camped around and about

him, destroy, in a great measure, the pleasure and the peace of the holder. He is also constantly annoyed by what the great public may say of him, and thus life to the office-holder is not "a bed of roses," or "a flowery path of ease."

But it is said that Agriculture is a slow way to make money. It may be, but it is also a sure way. A few men make large fortunes in trade and speculation, of whom we constantly read, but of the thousands and tens of thousands who fail to do so we hear nothing said. We learn of the great success of some business men, and know but little of the many failures made.

Compare the pleasures and advantages of country life with those of the town and city. In the country, away from the distracting sights and noise of the city, away from its filth, dirt and smoke, its poverty and squalor, misery and suffering, its unhealthy tenements, and disease-impregnated atmosphere, are found and enjoyed quietude, pure air, pure water, and pure food.

No better place can be found for growing boys and girls than the farm, where healthy work may always be found suited to their strength. Here they may roam the fields and woods, drinking in health with every breath, with birds and flowers for companions, and no danger of contamination from such associations. In the town or city, the boy and girl are constantly liable to be brought into contact with vice and immorality in all its worst forms, liable to be led astray with the ambitions engendered by associations, and with the desire to enter into all the active doings of the circle called "society," and into its dissipations. These temptations do not surround the country boy or girl.

The city youth may, it is true, have the advantage in the way of graded schools, public libraries, lectures, theaters, etc., but this does not always enable them to outstrip the country youth in the race of life. With reasonable schools and social surroundings, and the advantages of the repose of rural life, the country youth have fine opportunities for

study and time to do thinking on their own responsibility, and to learn habits of self-reliance that enable them to win success, to develop the mind as well as muscle for life's work. City youth may learn more technical science, but the country youth get broader and more elevated practical learning in close associations with nature on the farm.

College diplomas are good things to have, but they are often obtained through broken health and shattered constitutions; while the country youth, with less learning, but good physical development, fine health and good habits, at the age for the active work of life, will be enabled to win the contest over all city competitors.

BOYS AND GIRLS ON THE FARM—HOW TO KEEP THEM THERE.

This is an interesting question asked and discussed in almost every farm home, and very difficult to determine and answer. In the first place it goes without saying that the dull boys and girls generally will stay on the farm, and prefer to remain at home. The bright, energetic, and ambitious boys or girls are harder to keep on the farm. They will tire of what they think the dull monotony of farm life. Visiting their city cousins, or going to town often, they notice the activity of town or city life. Seeing what to them seems the bright side of life, they long to engage in the strife, the daily and nightly amusements of the town. To them, inexperienced as they are, it looks to be the height of happiness and pleasure to mix in the gay and happy throng, and enjoy life in its perfection. But the skeletons of city life, hid in almost every home, are not open to their observation until they are initiated into its society and social life. When too late, many wish they had stayed on the farm.

It is not best that all the boys and girls should be kept on the farm as a life pursuit. We would soon have more farm-

ers and farm women than needed. Diversity of occupation must be encouraged, so as to make consumers enough to make a market for surplus products. If all were farmers, who would buy farm produce? But some of the boys, as well as girls, should stay on the farm and succeed their parents.

There is a great demand in the active business of the day, for the hardy, industrious, ambitious, moral and honest country boy. In all the great business enterprises of the day, these boys make the men that control our business and run our government machinery. They are found in all the departments of business and are controlling men wherever found. No city boy has ever been made President of the United States. Read the biographies of the leading men of our country since its organization and you will find that a great majority of them were brought up on the farm. There is something in early country training and education that gives endurance, energy, and perseverance, which enable these boys to make great success in life. Most of the successful and great merchants of our large cities were country boys who began their life work in sweeping out the city store, whilst its owner's sons were the book-keepers and salesmen and the gentlemen of the establishment, but who often in their turn became the employe of the boy sweeper who succeeded their father.

It would be a sad thing for the country if the day should ever come when this element of success shall not enter into the great business competitions of the day. But even this class of boys should be kept on the farm until their physical constitutions are developed and fitted for the endurance of great mental efforts in the active struggles of life.

The most difficult thing for young people is to settle what shall be their life work. What is best to do can not always be determined at the outset; time, experience and circumstances will often cause a change in early life selection and alter the whole plan of life.

One thing must always be borne in mind, that boys and girls cannot successfully be forced into any life or occupation for which they have no taste nor ability. To influence their selection of occupation, their feelings and taste in that pursuit must be cultivated as well as consulted. Their treatment and surroundings will have much to do in determining whether they will remain on the farm or seek fame and fortune somewhere else. The question then is, how shall they be so kept, and what shall the farmer do to keep his boys contented on the farm?

And first, how to drive them away from the farm:

By having everything as inconvenient as possible for farm work;

By selling off each year all the best young horses, keeping all the old and worn out ones for work; and by keeping poor old implements, buggies, wagons and carts, with shabby harness, and requiring the boys to use them in their work or for their pleasure;

By a rigid perseverance in all manner of slip-shod farming, and being behind the neighbors in keeping the farm in order and up to the latest improvements;

By requiring the boys to feed the stock in open fields from snow-covered stacks during the long winters, and to drive them long distances to water;

By turning everything possible into money and putting that in more land, thus making more work for the boys; and generally

By making farm life for the boys a life of servitude, with no relaxation, no holidays, and no associations for pleasure,—in short, by making the boy turn the grindstone when he thinks he ought to go fishing.

How to keep them on the farm: Give them the best education you can. The daily intercourse between fathers and mothers and their boys and girls has much to do in attaching them to farm life, or repulsing them from it. The father who gives his boys none of his confidence in the manage-

ment of the farm, but arbitrarily orders them to their work, will not keep them on the farm longer than the law allows him to control them, if they do not run away before majority.

Nothing is so gratifying to the bright boy who is full of young America as to try his hand at farming or to be consulted by his father as to the proposed work on the farm from year to year. Indeed, the utmost freedom should be given him to make his suggestions of the work to be done. The father should daily hold conference with the boys about the business of the farm, let them know all about its profits and losses, and teach them to be book-keepers.

Instead of doggedly insisting on his old way of farming, allow them to carry out their new ideas of how to farm. They may not have the best way, but they will learn by experience. It will give them interest in the experiments. Then as to the farm stock, make the boys interested by allowing them to own and sell part of it. Allow them to break and drive the colts. Consult them concerning the kind of stock to raise, and they will become interested in learning from papers and books the best and most profitable to breed and raise. Furnish them with papers and good books to read. Furnish them with the best possible farm implements within the means at hand, give them good rigs to drive for business or pleasure, furnish them with as good clothing as can be afforded, and allow them holidays for enjoyment and association with their neighbors and friends. In short, make farm life as pleasant to them as possible, and they will be interested in its work and be glad to remain.

So the mother should consult and advise with her girls as to the work of the farm house. Give them charge of part of the everyday work of the household, and hold them responsible for its performance. Allow them to suggest and carry out improvements in house furnishing and the thousand little things about the parlor and the rooms; give them charge of the flower garden and house plants, and make the

home a bower of beauty with flowers and vines and shrubs and lawns.

Besides, the house should be furnished with all possible conveniences for easy household work, which is too often neglected on the farm.

As far as possible gratify their taste in dress and company. Allow them to visit all proper places; furnish them with suitable books and papers, give them the best possible education and pleasant home surroundings. The mother should have the entire confidence of her girls, be the repository of all their secrets, and their adviser on all occasions. The sensible mother who has such confidence and so treats her daughters, will not likely be disgraced by their conduct. They will be glad to stay on the farm, at least until they have a better home offered them, in which they will be mistress.

And finally, boys and girls must not be taught that farm life and work is degrading, as is too often thought by the idler and upstart and foolish people generally. Farmers themselves should make their calling respectable and independent, and should inculcate such sentiment in the family. They should feel themselves as good as anybody, when they behave themselves.

The grumbling farmer, always complaining of his hard work and hard times and ill-luck, as he calls his mismanagement, is in fact generally responsible for much of the dissatisfaction of the boys on the farm. The actions and daily conduct of the father and mother in reference to their occupation have a lasting effect on the children of the household. If they are dissatisfied with their occupation, so will be the boys and girls. Let it at all times be the united sentiment of the family that farm life is dignified, useful, and, all things considered, pleasant and desirable, and the children will be more than likely to remain and be satisfied with the work of the farm.

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THE
UNDERGROUND
RAILROAD.

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THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

BY JAMES H. FAIRCHILD.

The irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery in our land first appeared, in practical form, along the geographical line between free and slave territory. Indeed, it is quite conceivable that but for the collisions to which this line gave occasion the two systems might have co-existed indefinitely in the northern and southern portions of the country. The theories of human rights might have been shockingly out of harmony with each other, in the two different sections, but if there were no occasion for conflict of practical interests, existence under a common constitution might not have been intolerable. It is perhaps probable that in the course of generations the two civilizations resulting from the conflicting ideas would have diverged so widely that there could be no common interests out of which to construct a bond of union. Such a possibility is a matter of conjecture; but the experiment of such a co-existence was set aside by the early and persistent collision along this line of contact.

On one side of the line slaves were found more or less apprehensive and restive in their condition of bondage; on the other side there was the prospect of freedom, shadowy and uncertain indeed, but sufficient to excite the hope of an imaginative and impressible race. Under the mildest system of slavery, numbers would seek their fortune with their faces toward freedom; and American slavery was not the mildest. In the person of that fugitive there was a marketable value of five hundred or a thousand dollars—a sufficient motive to rally all available forces for the pursuit. The farmer will follow his strayed animal for days; the owner

of a fugitive slave would look up the track of his fleeing property for months or even years. In the case of the stray horse or cow, the owner meets the sympathy of all his fellow men near or more distant. The hunter of the fugitive would often find a strong sentiment of any community which he entered enlisted against him. He could reclaim his horse wherever he might come upon him; the problem of recovering his fugitive slave involved endless and ever increasing difficulties. If slavery had extended over the entire country these difficulties would not have appeared. The return of fugitive slaves would have been a common interest, like the return of straying cattle.

Very soon after the organization of the government the trouble began, and it did not end until, in the midst of the war of the rebellion, Congress enacted a law forbidding the return of fugitives by any officer of the Union forces. Under the Articles of Confederation, before the adoption of the Constitution, no arrangement seems to have existed for the return of the fugitive. This was one among many occasions which rendered the Constitution necessary. It is manifest that in the early days of the republic the permanence of slavery in the country was not contemplated. The radical principles of human liberty, announced in the Declaration of Independence, had pervaded the entire community north and south; and the opinion was expressed by public men in every part of the land that a system so repugnant to these principles as slavery must soon disappear. This conviction was exhibited in the care taken that the Constitution should contain no mention of slave or slavery, and should only incidentally recognize the existence of the system. It made provision for the return of fugitives, or rather for their recovery, but in terms so obscure and inconclusive as to afford little aid or comfort to the pursuer. This is the provision: "No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, and escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged

from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." This clause has a very inoffensive sound, and might properly belong to a constitution where slavery is unknown. Indeed, it is now thirty years since slavery was abolished in our land, and the clause still remains and may have its uses even when slavery has been forgotten. Certainly it is harmless at present. But while slavery existed it meant that the owner could pursue his escaped slave into any state of the Union, and take him back to his bondage. Legislation providing for the recovery of the fugitive followed in 1793, the next year after the adoption of the Constitution, and continued more than half a century, with now and then an amendment, until, in 1850, it culminated in the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, with its intenser heat and friction, which led on to Secession and the War.

The prevalent idea that slavery would give way before the principles of liberty proclaimed and vindicated in the war of the Revolution was realized in New England and the Middle States; and associations for the promotion of emancipation were organized which embraced not only the Friends or Quakers, but men of eminence and influence in public and private life, even in the slave states. Slavery as a system was generally disapproved, and under condemnation; but there was at first a tolerant and patient disposition, ready to grant any necessary time and to consider any reasonable provisions for the termination of the unfortunate system. All this was changed within a very few years in the early part of the century. Northern people came to feel an active repugnance to the system, while the people of the South, finding the system convenient and profitable, set themselves with all earnestness to maintain and extend it. The friction generated in the pursuit and recovery of fugitives tended constantly to intensify this difference of feeling.

In this business of Slave-hunting, Slavery exhibited itself in its more odious form, or did not put its best foot forward,

but rather a *cloven* foot. It was not a South-side view of slavery which was presented along the border line. In general, the slaves that were contented and well-cared for, and knew little of the positive cruelties of slavery, would not expose themselves to the risks involved in an effort to escape. Those that undertook the perilous enterprise, in general, had their tale of horrors, and their scars and stripes to show. They came with a timid and fearful look, like that of hunted animals. They found safe hiding-places by day, and guided by the north star, they traversed the pathless woods at night. In the earlier years, the fugitive commonly made the journey alone, leaving wife and children and friends behind. There was often a dim hope that he might blaze a path which these forsaken ones might follow, and this hope was sometimes realized. A mother sometimes brought her infant child, often to bury it by the way before she found her refuge. There are not a few of those humble, forgotten graves along the old tracks of the Underground Railroad. In such conditions the victims of the system presented themselves to the people of the North, who knew little more of slavery than they gathered from such signs as these.

Then, too, the men who made it their business to pursue these fugitives were not in general the select and cultured of southern society. They were not fair specimens of the slave-holding class. The men who gathered slaves for the market at the south were not recognized as belonging to good society; and those that made it their business to follow the fugitive and bring him back ranked even lower than these. In the far southwest, escaping slaves found refuge in the dismal swamps and cane-brakes of southern rivers; and the men who undertook to bring them back to their masters generally lived apart in solitary cabins where they could train a pack of bloodhounds for the loathsome hunt. Northern people traveling south among their friends, enjoying the far-famed southern hospitality, seldom encountered any of these forbidding features, and returned to deny their reality

among their neighbors. But the character and methods of these slave-hunters, as they appeared on northern soil, often made the darkest tales of the south seem credible. There were exceptions. Now and then an honest planter from some rural district would appear upon the scene as the claimant of a slave. But oftener such a man would sell his claim to a speculating hunter who would conduct the business without scruple or delicacy, with no apprehension of its repulsiveness to northern feeling. They were men whose natural utensils were the bull-whip, the pistol, and the Bowie knife; and their language and bearing corresponded with these weapons. Such a conception of the slaveholder was propagated by this business of slave-hunting, even in the country places of Ohio and Indiana.

Fifty or sixty years ago when the slave-hunting business began to attract wide attention, the general attitude of the country people in this and neighboring states was that of disapprobation of slavery, and a willingness to let the southern people manage the business for themselves without interference. There was a general recognition of the right of the South to pursue and recover their fugitives without help or hindrance from their northern neighbors. This seemed to be the extent of recognized obligation on this side of the line. But when the fugitive came starving, and frightened at every shadow, there was no one so destitute of humanity as not to feed him; few that would not offer him a hiding-place if the man-hunter were on the street; and there were some who, in the face of threats and penalties, would harness a horse by night and help him twenty miles on his way, leaving him with some good Samaritan who would continue the work. Such services were reckoned among the primal claims and rights of humanity. It was easy to stand at a distance and talk about the theory of the case, and the constitutional claims of the south; but when the poor man appeared at the door hungry and frightened, unsophisticated human nature would claim its own rights, in spite of theo-

ries and laws and courts. Worthless men were found in almost every community, here and there one, who would for a bribe help the pursuer; and there were lawyers and politicians a grade above these, who, when the slave was brought into court, would render legal aid, and maintain their self-respect in the thought that the constitution and the laws were on that side.

As the years passed on, men and women took their position openly. Those whose houses were open to the fugitive, or who would help him on his way toward freedom, came to understand each other, and would call upon each other for needed services at any hour of the day or night. Others could be depended upon for contributions of food or clothing or money to meet the expense of the continued journey. Others were gifted with the grace of silence, and would listen to the sad tale of the wanderer without a shred of information for the pursuer on his track. Indeed, most worthy people became shrewd in telling the truth without conveying any valuable information. A good deacon of Wellington was asked by a man-hunter one morning if he had seen a negro pass his house recently. "Yes," was his answer. "Which way was he going?" "North," was the answer, which meant towards Oberlin. At the same time the deacon had seen the negro, after passing his house toward the north, enter a cornfield and turn his face toward the south. Many people in these days were able by such casuistry to keep peace with their conscience on the subject of truth-telling. The deacon probably had the right to speak as he did, but not to flatter himself that he was telling the truth.

As to the fugitive, he was naturally expected to give any account of himself which would seem most useful. Without being a criminal he was an outlaw, surrounded by enemies, and could claim all the natural rights of self-protection. It was the prevalent idea that he had the same right to defend his liberty when pursued, that any man would have when set upon and surrounded by enemies. How this right on the

part of the fugitive could be reconciled with the right of the owner to pursue and reclaim his property was often not at all considered. But both rights seemed to have a substantial origin. In making the slave a man God gave him the right to his liberty, while the Constitution gave the slaveholder the right to recover his property.

The same man would sometimes maintain both of these propositions. One who denied the right of the slave to escape was called a "lower law man;" denying the right of the master to reclaim his slave, he was a "higher law man." A large portion of the people of the country would probably hold both of these ideas without any distinct consciousness of their contradictory nature.

Those who looked to the Scriptures for a settlement of these fundamental principles of righteousness would find on the one hand the fugitive slave law of the Mosaic institutions, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him." The northern magistrate, with a fugitive before him, often found this high authority sufficient against the obscurer clause of the Constitution, "No person held to service or labor in one state, escaping into another, shall be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor is due." The Mosaic law sounds so much like the ten commandments that the counsel for the fugitive often took his stand upon it and won his case. The Epistle to Philemon would be urged on the other side, but its tone was so gentle and Christian that it failed to meet the case. It brought little aid or comfort to the average slave-catcher. It was found useful in the southern pulpit, when slavery was to be defended as a patriarchal institution, but was utterly out of place when a magistrate was called upon to return a scarred fugitive to his oppressor—"no longer a servant but

a brother beloved both in the flesh and in the Lord." The situation was perplexing from every point of view. The practical study of it, as compelled by the frequent recurrence of escapes and arrests, brought no relief, but only increasing disquiet and dissatisfaction—a demonstration of the irrepressible conflict.

The mass of the people were by no means abolitionists. Abolitionists were often held in contempt, and slaveholders were in general accorded the respect which they claimed for themselves; but human instincts are mightier than words or theories or constitutions, and to these the fugitive made his mute appeal.

There was in the North generally an intense prejudice against the negro. With the negroes as a body the great majority of the people wished to have nothing to do. They must remain South where they belonged. No greater calamity could be thought of than that they should be set free among us, which was supposed to be the aim of the despised abolitionist. Hence the political party supposed to be most favorable to slavery could command a majority almost everywhere out of New England; and, at the demand of southern politicians, many of the northern states were ready, in their state legislation, to show their sympathy with slavery by what were called "black laws," intended to make it difficult for the negro to find any resting place in a free state. But even the black laws failed to secure to the slave-hunter the human sympathy of the party which enacted them. Senator Bird, of Mrs. Stowe's wonderful book, who helped frame the black laws of Ohio, and went home to give shelter to the fugitive Eliza and her child, was by no means a mere product of the imagination. Slavery found itself in conflict with the mighty forces of human nature. It was a hopeless conflict. The great body of the people had accepted slavery in theory, as one of the institutions of the land, and would vote to let it alone, and even to sustain it, as long as it did not trespass upon their personal premises. This was the pre-

vailing attitude of the people in the great central states bordering on the Ohio river.

But in almost every community there were a few who were avowedly opposed to slavery, who were in the habit of attending antislavery gatherings, and were willing to have it understood that they would render aid to the fugitive whenever it was called for. They were the abolitionists. In some few communities these were in the majority, and formed the public sentiment. This was true in general of the Quaker settlements, and a few religious communities or New England colonies, like Oberlin. The northern name for the pursuer of a fugitive was kidnapper; the southern name for his helper was slave-stealer.

The great body of the avowed friends of the slave did not approve of any active effort to encourage slaves to escape. Not one in a hundred, probably, even if he were traveling in the South, would think it right to put forth any effort to entice a slave from his master; not so much because of any supposed right on the part of the master to the services of his slave, as because such efforts would not tend, on the whole, to a peaceable and successful termination of the system. The genuine abolitionist who had not lost all hope for his country and become essentially a pessimist, was looking and laboring and praying for a peaceful solution of the vexed problem. As long ago as 1840, I heard a hopeful old man of that class, when asked how long he thought it would be before the end of slavery, reply, "about twenty years." Yet he never dreamed of war and rebellion. Agitation, discussion, the diffusion of light, was his method.

Yet it was not strange that here and there one should appear, in the heat and stress of the time, who regarded himself as called to pass over into the hostile territory for the purpose of inducing slaves to make a strike for freedom in the way of a flight to the North. Such persons of course expected no mercy in case of detection. Nothing but the bitterest hatred awaited them, and the state prison was their

only hope of escape from lynching. Calvin Fairbank, an early student in Oberlin College, laid before me his plan of enticing fugitives from Kentucky. No dissuasion would avail with him; the duty was borne in upon him, and he felt that he had no right to count the cost. What practical result he brought to pass I never knew, but he suffered seventeen long years of imprisonment in the Kentucky prison, with such daily indignities of abuse and flogging as few men have ever known. He still lives somewhere at the East, and has recently published a book narrating his experience, which I have not seen.

Rev. Charles T. Torrey, a Congregational minister of Massachusetts, connected by descent and by marriage with many distinguished families of the state, in 1842 attended a slaveholders' convention in Maryland, as a Washington correspondent of several Northern papers. His presence there became known in the city of Annapolis, and after a narrow escape from lynching at the hands of the mob he was lodged in the Annapolis jail, a building old and ruinous, as he states, without bed or even straw for a prisoner. After several days he was released by the court, because there was no shadow of reason for his detention, but under bonds of \$500 to keep the peace. While in the prison, he met a number of slaves who had been manumitted by their master, but were then awaiting a final trial which was to consign them to perpetual slavery, as was thought. In a letter in the *New York Evangelist*, published a few days after his release, giving an account of his imprisonment, he says, after speaking of the hopeless condition of the slaves he met, "I sat down and wrote and signed and prayed over a solemn reconsecration of myself to the work of freeing the slaves until no slaves shall be found in the land. May God help me to be faithful to that pledge in Annapolis jail. In that cell, God helping me, if it stands, I will celebrate the emancipation of the slave in Maryland before ten years roll away." By such experiences in those days young men were borne beyond the

lines of prudence and reason in their conflict with slavery; and it is not strange that, a few months after this, young Torrey was on his way to Virginia to help a fugitive get his wife and little children. He was arrested, convicted, and sentenced to six years in the penitentiary in Baltimore, in December, 1843. His health gave way in a hopeless decline, and multitudes petitioned the governor for his pardon, that he might die in his own home. But the governor, though favorably inclined, did not dare to face the intolerance and bitterness of public sentiment, and Torrey died in prison on the sixth of May, 1846. His friends were permitted to take his body to Boston for burial, and arrangements for his funeral were made in Park Street Church, where some of these friends were worshipers. But such was the timidity even in Boston in those days that the arrangements were set aside, and a bolder and braver church gave him a funeral in Tremont Temple, and buried him in Mount Auburn cemetery.

A few years later, William L. Chaplin, a young lawyer, a friend of Torrey, and his successor in the editorship of *The Albany Patriot*, while in Washington as a correspondent of his own paper, was induced to render aid, in their effort to escape, to two young men, slaves of Robert Toombs and Alexander H. Stevens. He was detected in the act, and after lying five months in jail he was released under bonds of \$25,000 to appear for trial. Under the counsel of friends, these bonds were forfeited and paid. Gerritt Smith was the most prominent of his bondsmen, but did not approve the forfeiture of the bonds.

Such were the penalties incurred by any effort to aid the slave on southern soil, and even under the shadow of the Capitol of the nation. Yet these risks were encountered by many men of generous impulses and high character. Among these was Capt. Jonathan Walker, of Massachusetts, who, while engaged in constructing a railroad in Florida, was persuaded by some slaves in his employ to help them escape in

an open boat to the nearest British island. He was taken in the attempt, carried to Pensacola, tried in a United States court, branded on the inside of his right hand by a United States marshal with the capital letters S S (slave-stealer), sentenced to stand in the pillory, where he was pelted with rotten eggs, and to pay as many fines and suffer as many terms of imprisonment as there were slaves in the company that he tried to aid. Northern friends raised money to pay the fines, and after eleven months' imprisonment he was released. Such events did not relieve the tension of the public mind. Whittier seized the occasion to fire the Northern heart:

"Then lift that manly right hand, bold plowman of the wave,
Its branded palm shall prophesy 'Salvation to the Slave:'

* * * * *

Hold it up before our sunshine, up against our Northern air.
Ho, men of Massachusetts, for the love of God look there!
Take it henceforth for your standard, like the Bruce's heart of yore;
In the dark strife closing round ye, let that hand be seen before."

The Southern feeling was so intense during these years that one suspected of any thought of aiding a fugitive could have little hope of a reasonable trial, when brought before the courts. The usual safeguards of human freedom ceased to be operative; even the ancient writ of *habeas corpus* lost its virtue; and any judicial form, however well established, must give way when it hindered or delayed conviction. As an example which I recall, one J. B. Mahan, a preacher of southern Ohio, was indicted in a Kentucky court in 1838 for enticing away slaves, and upon a requisition from the governor of the state was delivered up by Governor Vance of Ohio and hurried over to Kentucky soil for trial; yet it was ascertained, and was proved finally in court, that he had not been on the Kentucky side of the river for nineteen years. It is not improbable that his known character and known sympathy with the slave may have encouraged some slave in Kentucky to strike for freedom; but it was startling to find that this was a crime in Ohio punishable under the laws of Kentucky. After some months of imprisonment he was re-

leased, but his friends sought relief in vain through the *habeas corpus* writ.

One of my early student friends, George Thompson, while living at Quincy, Illinois, was approached one day by a colored man from the Missouri side of the river, who asked him to cross the river in a boat the next day to help him and his family over on their way to freedom. Thompson, with two companions, went over at the time appointed. They were met by an excited mob of Missourians who hurried them away for trial, for a crime which at the worst had not been committed, but only meditated. The probability seemed to be that the young men were victims of a plot. The colored man was an imposter, sent as a decoy; but the young men were consigned to the penitentiary of Missouri, and it was five long years before Thompson could obtain pardon for an offense that was never committed. The three counts in the indictment under which they were tried were, "for stealing slaves, for attempting to steal them, and for intending to attempt to steal them."

Such efforts as these, involving invasions of slave territory, doubtless contributed to swell the business of the underground railroad; but in general that business was confined to the free states, and consisted in sheltering the fugitive after he had passed the line, and in furthering him on his way toward Canada. Sometimes at his own risk, and in general against the advice of his helpers, a fugitive declined to push on to Canada and would make a home for himself in some antislavery community. Such persons were never secure until slavery lost its power in the war.

This work of helping fugitives, although quite effective, had no visible and little *real* organization. The most definite arrangements involved were found at certain points along the line, as at Cincinnati, or Philadelphia, or Wilmington, where there were communities of free colored people who could receive the fugitives and give them shelter for a time, until arrangements could be made with white people

to start them on their way to some quiet and friendly place. This was often a Quaker settlement in Ohio or Indiana, if the expedition was started from Cincinnati, where they would find shelter and friends until they could be moved onward to another station. These friends must be prepared to feed and clothe and hide their visitors, and to furnish a little money for their further transportation. These movements were generally at night, and if what appeared like a day train was employed it was commonly in the way of strategy, to divert the attention of pursuers. Able-bodied travelers were often sent off on foot at night with or without a guide, to reach another group of friends by daylight. If there were women or children in the company, as often happened, they were packed into a market wagon and driven off twenty or twenty-five miles, by day or by night, as seemed suitable, to another station. There was sufficient understanding between neighboring stations to insure welcome and protection to the travellers. Only a few people, two or three families, would need to understand the details. They would know whom of their neighbors they could trust in an emergency, and where they must place a guard. Some families at these stations had secret chambers in their houses, entered perhaps by a door behind a wardrobe, where their guests might find security. It is quite possible that such hiding places might be found to-day in different parts of Ohio, which originated in the demands of those times. The devices employed for covering the movements and misleading those in pursuit were endlessly varied, according to the resources and the shrewdness of those who managed affairs.

Two organizers of the underground travel require special mention, namely, Levi Coffin of Cincinnati, and Thomas Garrett of Wilmington, Delaware, both men of Quaker birth and education, honored and successful business men in their respective cities. Mr. Coffin, a man of remarkable shrewdness and humor, who stood at his post in Cincinnati more than thirty years, was known through all the land, north

and south, as the head-center of the Underground Railroad interests for the whole region west of the mountains. His shrewdness served him to outwit the pursuer in almost every instance, and to secure himself against prosecutions and fines. It is estimated that in the thirty-three years of his service he rendered aid to a hundred fugitives a year. Thomas Garrett was a man of the same spirit, and he devoted his life to the same work. He was not so fortunate as Mr. Coffin in escaping the penalties of the fugitive slave law. Four times the elder Bayard of Delaware conducted prosecutions against him before Judge Taney, and his ample fortune was swept away in fines. The auctioneer who offered his last earthly possession for sale took the occasion to express the hope that his experience would teach him not to transgress the laws of the land. "Friend," was Garrett's reply, "I have not a dollar of property in the world, but if thee knows a fugitive that needs a breakfast this mornning, send him to me." There were heroes in those days, as well as in later years when the conflict for liberty was transferred to the bloody field.

Several parallel lines of the Underground Railroad system ran from the Ohio river to the lake, and fugitives were frequently shifted from one to the other for the sake of baffling the pursuer. Any point on Lake Erie was a convenient terminus at the north, because Canada was not far away, and there were captains of steamers and schooners, well known to antislavery people in Northern Ohio, who would cheerfully receive a colored passenger bound to Canada, and ask no questions and give no information. The presence of such a vessel at any point on the lake would be the occasion for bringing forth from their hiding places those who were contemplating the voyage. I recollect meeting one morning, about sixty years ago, a couple of people on horseback inquiring the road to Huron. As they came near, one of them proved to be a young man whom I knew; the other appeared to be a woman whom I did not know, but was really a young negro dressed and veiled as a woman, with face artificially

whitened to complete his disguise, as a passenger intending to embark for Canada.

In these northern parts of the state the pursuer was obliged to move with nearly as much circumspection as the fugitive. His friends were few, and a general announcement of his presence and purpose would thwart his scheme. No other danger threatened him but the loss of his game, if he conducted himself quietly. Sometimes when he had laid his hand upon his victim and seemed to be leading him off safely toward the South, a crowd would gather about, and require to see his papers, and finally would compel him to turn back to the court house to show that all things were done decently and in order. This involved delay and added expense in bringing witnesses from the South, and sometimes brought to light such irregularities in the proceeding that the fugitive was released from arrest and given another chance for his freedom—a chance that was likely to be successfully embraced. If the seizure had been attended with threats and violence, or with a show of weapons, as was often the case, a warrant was procured, and the man-hunter changed places with his victim. Such liabilities were vexatious, and rendered the whole business undesirable and unprofitable.

What the southern people demanded as their right, and labored to secure, was the same freedom and facility in the recovery of their slaves as they enjoyed in the recovery of their strayed cattle. This was essentially the condition of things within the limits of the slave states. But beyond their own borders their rights were based upon the Constitution, which called and treated their slaves as persons. Thus in pursuing their slaves into Ohio, they encountered all the principles of law which had been devised through all modern history to guard personal freedom. It was no rare thing to see these principles recklessly violated in the recovery of a fugitive. Indeed, it was rare to find them respected in any court called on to decide the right of the claimant over his

slave. But in the course of years these principles came to be practically understood in localities where arrests were common, and they were often brought to bear to the great surprise and embarrassment of the pursuer.

In such centers as Cincinnati and Philadelphia there were young lawyers who made these principles their study, and rendered much unpaid service in the defense of those claimed as slaves. Salmon P. Chase was one of these. It had been very common for slave owners to bring their slaves with them into a free state for a temporary sojourn, or to land at a free state port in passing from one slave state to another. In Cincinnati and in Philadelphia, and probably in other cities, such cases were carefully looked up by some competent committee, and by repeated decisions in the courts, following Lord Mansfield of England, the principle was established that slavery was so contrary to natural right and justice that it could exist nowhere except by positive local law. In Kentucky the master held his slave by such positive law, but when he brought him into Ohio, his claim was annulled and his slave free. If the slave escaped into Ohio, the Constitution, by its provision for the return of fugitives, continued the master's claim; but if the owner brought his slave into the free state, the claim ceased to exist, and could not be restored by the master's taking him back into slave territory. There were decisions which held that the master's title was restored if the slave consented to return with the master. I do not understand that this principle was ever confirmed in the highest court. In some parts of the country what was regarded as a reasonable margin was given to the master's claim, allowing him a few days sojourn with the right to take his slave back with him. In one case in the state of Indiana, where in general such privilege of temporary sojourn would be allowed, a slave successfully sued for his freedom because his master made some purchases in the state which indicated a purpose to set up business there.

Even an Indiana court would not allow that Kentucky slave law was operative beyond its own territory.

A case of much notoriety involving these principles occurred in Philadelphia, in 1855. Colonel Wheeler, of North Carolina, was appointed United States minister to Nicaragua, and proposed to take with him three slaves, his wife's nurse and her two little boys. He proceeded from Washington through Philadelphia, intending to sail from New York. At Philadelphia where they were delayed a few hours, some members of the antislavery vigilance committee, including Passmore Williamson, a prominent young business man of the city, a Quaker, were notified of the facts, and they went on board the steamer and announced to the woman that by the act of her master, bringing her into a free state, she and her boys were free; and if she wished to avail herself of her rights she could leave the steamer with them. The last bell of the Camden and Amboy steamer had rung, and there was not a moment for delay. Her master pressed forward to lay his hands upon the woman, and Mr. Williamson stepped forward to see that she had a clear passage. In a moment the woman and her children were driving away in a carriage, and Colonel Wheeler remained with Mr. Williamson on the wharf. The next step was a writ of *habeas corpus* served upon Mr. Williamson, issued by Judge Kane, of the U. S. Court, commanding him to bring the persons of Jane Johnson and her two boys before the court. Mr. Williamson made answer that the bodies of these persons were not in his keeping or under his control, that he did not even know whither they went or where they were. Judge Kane committed him to prison for contempt, characterizing his act as an infamous outrage, and saying that he knew of no law of Pennsylvania divesting a citizen of North Carolina of his property rights because he had found it needful to pass through the State, and that if there were such a law it could not hold in the courts of the United States. Williamson and his friends appealed to the Supreme Court of the State for

his release, but in vain, the court maintaining that Williamson carried the key to his prison in his own pocket and could come out when he pleased. On one occasion during the progress of the trials growing out of this case, the slave woman and her two boys were brought into the court as witnesses for the defense. It was an exciting hour. The United States attorney and marshal were there with a force of deputies, to see the fugitive slave law executed; and on the other side all the officers of the State court to maintain the honor of the court and to protect the witnesses brought there under the authority of the court. There was intense feeling and apprehension, but no collision. Jane Johnson and her two boys came and went without molestation, and no power of the State or of the United States disturbed her further. Passmore Williamson remained in prison from July to November, when he was released by Judge Kane simply on his repeating what he had so often said, that Colonel Wheeler's slaves were not in his keeping and he could not produce them.

This case affords an example of a tendency which was developing toward a conflict between the authority of the general government and that of the states, during these years of reclaiming fugitive slaves. The slave states became more and more dissatisfied with their success in recovering their property; and the free states became more and more awake to the necessity of maintaining the principles of liberty for which the fathers had fought, and for which they believed our country was to stand. But with the predominant influence of the South in the government, these principles were becoming compromised on every side. Things had reached such a pass that when Massachusetts sent one of its most honored and conservative citizens to South Carolina to look after the rights of its colored sailors, freemen, who had been imprisoned and sometimes sold into slavery under the laws of South Carolina, he and his daughter who accompanied him were instantly driven from the state without an hour's delay; and the same thing was repeated in Louisiana. At the same

time the general government, in all its departments, was so southernized that diplomacy was conducted in the interests of slavery instead of freedom; and even the Supreme Court in its Dred Scott decision finally announced the tremendous heresy that slavery was established by the supreme authority of the Constitution, and that freedom was sectional, depending upon local and positive law.

The tendency of all this was to strengthen in the minds of all antislavery men the growing feeling that the general government was on the side of slavery, and that the only defense of freedom was in the State governments. Under this impression, whenever the friend of the fugitive found himself liable to pains and penalties under the fugitive slave law as administered by the general government, he was disposed to invoke the protection of his own state government, and to overestimate its powers as against the federal government. Thus, even in the minds of antislavery statesmen and politicians, there was a growing disposition to adopt what has been called the Doctrine of State Rights, which in later years we regarded as the peculiar heresy of our Southern neighbors; and this tendency increased as time went on.

The fugitive law of 1850, demanded by the South and granted by the North as a measure intended to relieve the pressure, by giving assurance that there was an earnest purpose on the part of the government to secure the slaveholders in the possession and recovery of their property, utterly failed to bring any relief. The more successful the effort to reclaim the fugitive, the greater and more widespread was the resulting dissatisfaction at the North, and the more restive the people became under the pro-slavery administration of the Federal Government. The Black Laws of Ohio and of some other states, enacted to aid and abet the recovery of fugitives, were repealed, and gradually, in many of the Northern states the anti-slavery sentiment became operative in the administration of the State governments. There was unquestionably a growing feeling or apprehension that these

State governments might become the last refuge of liberty in the land. The whole business of catching fugitives was transferred to the Federal Government, its commissioners and marshals and courts; and in case of any apprehended resistance, Federal soldiers were liable to come to the front. The stars and stripes became, to large multitudes of people, north as well as south, the symbol, not of freedom but of slavery. The sentiment of patriotism was rapidly disappearing from the land. In looking back upon the situation from our present standpoint, it seems probable that if the South could have been a little less impulsive and impetuous and imperious, a northern secession instead of a southern might have come, and the Confederacy might have begun with the general government in its possession, with all the attendant prestige and power. The drift of public sentiment in this direction during the twenty years before the war may be illustrated by two attempts to recover fugitive slaves in Northern Ohio, the first at the beginning and the second near the close of this period.

From the year 1835 to 1860 Oberlin was of course a busy station on the Underground Railroad, but in all this period only two overt attempts were made at Oberlin to recover fugitives, both unsuccessful. The first of these occurred about 1840. The seizure was made at a house which then stood in the forest about a mile east of the center of the town. It was evening, and some meeting was in progress in the College chapel. When the alarm was given, crowds of citizens and students turned out unarmed, and pursued the slave-catchers. They overtook them on the State road two or three miles southeast of the village, and effectually hindered their further progress for the night. The crowd took possession of the road to the south, and in the morning induced the slave-claimants to go to Elyria, the county-seat, and substantiate before the judge their claim to their victims—a man and his wife. At Elyria they failed to produce the evidence required, the trial was deferred, and the slaves were committed to jail. The two Kentuckians narrowly escaped a similar catastrophe by giv-

ing bail for their appearance at court on the charge of house-breaking and threatening of life. They had entered the house where the fugitives were found with violence and threats and the show of weapons. Before the day of trial came, one of the two received a summons to stand before the "Judge of all the earth." The other returned, sad and dispirited, to the double trial; but the slaves meanwhile had broken jail and were safe, and the Kentuckian gladly accepted his release without a trial. There was no evidence of any help to the slaves from without. An inmate of the jail, a basket-maker, had been furnished by the jailer with implements necessary for his calling, and with these he opened a way for himself, and the rest followed. It was scarcely more a human plan than was the release of Peter by the angel.

The other instance of attempted seizure occurred nearly twenty years later, and became notorious in the land as the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue Case.

A negro boy named John Price, an escaped slave from Kentucky, had lived quietly at Oberlin six months or more without attracting any special attention. Monday morning, on the 13th of September, 1858, John was decoyed from town, two miles or more, under promise of work. On a by-road he was overtaken by two men in a carriage. These men, one of whom was a deputy United States marshal, another a deputy sheriff, both from Columbus, seized John, lifted him into their own carriage, and took the road to Wellington without coming through Oberlin. They were soon joined by a third man who belonged to the same company. A citizen of Oberlin met them on the road, and reported his suspicion in town that the boy had been kidnapped. Monday was our holiday in college, and a crowd of citizens and students were soon on the road to Wellington; and the crowd grew in numbers as it went on, some with guns, some without. At Wellington it was greatly increased, and surrounded the hotel where the slave-hunters held John waiting for the arrival of the train from Cleveland to take him south. After

some hours of indefinite parleying between the crowd and the group in the hotel, the train having come and gone without taking these waiting passengers, John was in some inexplicable way helped out of the hotel into a buggy, and borne toward Oberlin. There was no assault, not a shot was fired, nor was there a show of violence in any form.

On the 7th of December following, the grand jury of the United States Court for the Northern District of Ohio, under a remarkable charge from Judge Willson, found indictments for thirty-seven of the citizens of Oberlin and Wellington, and warrants were put into the hands of the United States marshal for their arrest. The same day the marshal appeared with his warrants at Oberlin, and afterward at Wellington, and made appointment with the different parties concerned to meet him before the court in Cleveland the next day, the marshal telling them that he felt as safe with their promise as their bond. These men were not criminals; they were respected and honored citizens in their own neighborhood, and some of them were public men with a wide acquaintance in this and other states. It seemed a great misfortune for the government that such men must be reckoned with evil-doers. Before the court they plead not guilty, and were dismissed upon their own recognizance to appear for trial the following March. The most prominent of these men had not been absent from the town on the day of the rescue, and could not have been directly engaged in the business; but they were conspicuous opponents of the Fugitive law, and might reasonably be indicted on general principles. Others were passed by who were more distinctly involved than they.

To show how easy it was to become a transgressor I may say that I was myself a resident of Oberlin at the time, but had driven out in the morning with my family to a neighboring town for a visit. I had never seen or heard of the boy John. But soon after I reached home in the evening two neighbors of mine in whom I had confidence, James Monroe and James M. Fitch, came to my door and asked me to take

the poor fellow in. He was three days and nights in a back chamber of my house; but no suspicion fell upon our house, and the United States marshal never gave us a call. But in giving the poor fellow a shelter, I had exposed myself to penalties of imprisonment and fines which would have broken up my home. Such were the tender mercies of the Fugitive Slave law as administered by the General Government in those days.

The trial before the United States court at Cleveland was deferred from the 8th of March to the 5th of April. It was then prosecuted from day to day until the middle of May, at which time two of the thirty-seven had been convicted and were serving out their terms of imprisonment in the Cleveland jail. Four of the able lawyers of Cleveland, Messrs. Spalding, Riddle, Griswold, and Backus, had volunteered their services and conducted the defense with great ability and warm personal interest. On the side of the prosecution was District Attorney Belden, assisted by Judge Bliss. The political aspect of the trial was very obvious in the fact that, with the exception of three members of the petit jury, every person connected with the court and prosecution, from the judge on the bench down to the claimants of the fugitive, was a member of the predominant party in the government. Within the court room the Fugitive Slave law had full sway, and all presumptions were in its favor; outside, throughout the city, and greatly throughout the State and all the North, the sympathies of the people were with the men in jail, the condemned and those awaiting trial. The men were tried separately. During the first trial, which continued more than a month nearly to the middle of May, the indicted men came freely into court and retired at the adjournment, from day to day, upon their own recognizances, without any restraint; but after the first conviction, upon a ruling of the court, which seemed very unreasonable to those awaiting trial and to their counsel, they withdrew their recognizances and were committed to jail, under the charge of

the sheriff and jailer of Cleveland, who at that time were David L. Wightman and Henry R. Smith. Those who knew these officers will understand that the accused men were received at the Cleveland jail less as criminals than as guests and friends. The court was on the side of the government and of oppression, the jail was on the side of the people and of liberty; and from the middle of April to the middle of July, 1859, that old Cleveland jail was the center of an intense and wide-spread interest, such as it never knew before and probably can never know again.

On the 21st of April a petition was addressed from the jail to the Supreme Court of Ohio, praying for the issuance of a writ of *habeas corpus* on behalf of the imprisoned men. This application was argued before the Supreme Court of Ohio at Columbus in full bench, by the counsel of the prisoners in behalf of the writ, and by the counsel of the prosecution against it. The application for the writ was unanimously refused by the court, on the ground that the United States District Court had the prisoners in charge, and that the trial was in progress. It was not reasonable to assume that they would suffer any injustice, and it would be entirely improper for any other court to intervene and interrupt these proceedings. They should be permitted to go on to the regular issue.

About this time, the middle of May, the case before the District Court had been simplified by eliminating from the list of the indicted, on one ground or another, the names of all the men from Wellington, leaving only Oberlin men for trial, citizens and students, fourteen in all, two of whom had been already convicted and were serving out their terms in the Cleveland jail. Meanwhile the court, which had been in session nearly two months, took a recess, and the cases were continued until the July term; which meant two extra months of midsummer in the jail, on the part of the accused. This condition of things gave occasion for a second application for a writ of *habeas corpus*. Bushnell and Langston had

been condemned and were serving out their sentence. It would no longer be a discourtesy for the State Court to look into the grounds for their imprisonment. Application was made to one of the judges, Judge Scott, who granted a writ addressed to Sheriff Wightman directing him to bring his prisoners before the full court at Columbus. The argument for and against their release was continued through four days at Columbus, Mr. Riddle, and the Attorney General of the state, Mr. Wolcott, speaking in behalf of the prisoners, and District Attorney Belden and Judge Swayne against their release. The occasion was felt on all sides to be a critical one. The State Government was urged strongly to take action against the General Government. Mr. Wolcott closed his elaborate and impassioned address with these words: "Weightier consequences never hung upon the arbitrament of any tribunal. The strain of the Federal system has come, and your honors are to determine, at least for the citizens of Ohio, whether under that system there can be any adequate protection for the reserved rights of the states, or any sufficient safeguards for the liberty of the citizen. The cause of constitutional government is here and now on trial. God grant it a safe deliverance."

The court by opinions of three to two refused the application for release—Judges Swan, Scott, and Peck, against Judges Brinkerhoff and Sutliff. Thus the prisoners were returned to the Cleveland jail, and an immediate catastrophe was averted.

While this application to the Supreme Court for release was pending, a mass convention of Republicans and opponents of the Fugitive Slave law was called to meet in Cleveland, on the 24th of May. Thousands gathered from the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio generally, and held their meeting on the Public Square, so near to the high fence around the jail that, while there was no passing the gates, speakers could address the crowd from one side of the fence or the other as occasion required. Joshua R. Gid-

Giddings was elected president of the convention, and letters were read, from some, and addresses made by many other, distinguished men. The feeling was intense, and there were earnest utterances radical or conservative in varying degrees. The speakers from within the fence, Peck and Plumb and Fitch and Langston, spoke moderately with no attempt to move the passions of the crowd. Those without were not always so moderate. Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, in a letter read to the convention, said :

"Are you ready to fight? If you have got your sentiments up to that manly pitch I am with you through to the end. But if not, I'll have none of your conventions—no more farcical campaigns; no more humbugs; no more Fourth of July orations; no more declarations of independence; no more glittering generalities—no more liberty, equality, fraternity. In obscure places, in silence and humility I will crush out the aspirations of earlier and better days, and attempt the dutiful but hard task of forgetting that I was born free."

Mr. Giddings was radical, almost revolutionary. He said: "I have no hesitation as to the means for acting upon the great matter which is now before us. I would have a committee appointed to-day, to apply to the first and nearest officer who has the power, to issue a writ for the release of these prisoners; and I want to be appointed on that committee. I will, if such a committee be appointed, apply to Judge Tilden," [the Judge was standing by his side] "and if he flinched in the performance of his duty, and refused to issue the writ, I would never speak to him again, or give him my hand. If he failed, I would go to another and another until death closed my eyelids. And now let me say to the Democrats, if there are any here, that so long as I have life and health I will use all my influence and all legal means to oppose the execution of this law. And when all such means fail, then so long as I have strength to raise and

wield an arm, so long I will resist unto death, and will work and pray for liberty with my latest breath."

Salmon P. Chase, then governor of the state, spoke moderately, cautioned against hasty action, and advised patience and dependence upon legal and constitutional means. The Federal Government, he said, was then acting under the Fugitive Slave Law, of which he had often expressed his opinion. He believed when the law was passed, and believed now, that that act was intended rather as a symbol of the supremacy of the slave states and the subjugation of the free states. The case had been brought before the courts of this state, and they are bound to carry out their duty under such a view of it. If the process for the release of any prisoner should issue from the courts of the state, he was free to say that so long as Ohio was a sovereign state that process should be executed. He did not counsel revolutionary measures, but when his time came and his duty was plain, he affirmed that the governor of Ohio would meet it as a man.

Hon. D. K. Carter, of Cleveland, said that while he bowed with the utmost deference to all law, he held in supreme contempt any law that enslaved any human being. You have repealed this law in Ohio. There are only just enough of monumental relics of the law now left to show that it exists somewhere else. Those who say that these poor, robbed, down-trodden people are designed by the Creator to be slaves, are open blasphemers, and don't believe in God, or hell, or immortality. That was his idea of the religious part of the law. He was the chief of sinners himself, but he wouldn't swap his chance of a decent immortality with one of those who help to sustain this law. He thought the audience would be satisfied with this conservative view of the subject, especially when he said that he was in favor of having those men out of that jail the best way they could be got out.

Similar opinions were expressed by Judge Tilden, Judge Hitchcock, Columbus Delano, and many others. Some seemed anxious to resort to extreme measures, but wiser

counsels prevailed, and the convention adjourned, having resolved that "Our fellow citizens of Lorain county, who are now in jail waiting the pleasure of the United States District Judge for their trial, are entitled to their liberty and must have it, peaceably and in conformity with the rules of law."

To give this resolution practical effect, Joshua R. Giddings, Herman Cantfield, and Robert F. Paine, were appointed a committee to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus*, addressing their application to any judicial officer in the state of Ohio having power to grant the writ. The decision of the Supreme Court at Columbus declining to release the prisoners precluded any farther movement in that direction.

During the six weeks of summer heat that followed, the Rescuers in jail addressed themselves to their prison life as well as they could. The publisher organized a force of printers from the group, and issued a paper from the jail called "The Rescuer." Students gathered their books and went on with their studies, and various mechanics procured tools and materials for their different callings.

But all these pursuits were soon interrupted; a single number of "The Rescuer" had been issued when the four Kentuckians who had been engaged in the seizure and abduction of John, at Oberlin some months before, found themselves obliged to answer to an indictment for kidnapping in the Common Pleas Court of Lorain county. The day of trial was just at hand, July 6th. The writ of *habeas corpus*, issued by Judge McLean in their behalf, addressed to the sheriff of Lorain county, had failed of presentation in time, because of his absence on business, and so nothing remained but that these men must face a Lorain county jury who had been vigorously instructed in the doctrine of the unconstitutionality of the Fugitive Slave law, and in the more recent doctrine of State Rights. The Ohio State Prison seemed to open before them. A conference between the officers of the two courts and the counsel of the two parties,

resulted in an exchange of prisoners—the twelve Oberlin men still awaiting trial, for the four Kentuckians; and thus the immediate conflict ended.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* of that day stated the matter thus: "We learn with astonishment that the United States District Attorney has nolle the indictments against the Oberlin Rescuers now in jail, on condition that the Oberlinites will nolle the indictments against the Kentucky witnesses who were under arrest on the trumped up charge of kidnapping. This arrangement, we understand, was made at the solicitation of the four Kentucky gentlemen, who, while under recognizance of the United States Court to appear here and testify in these rescue cases, were indicted by an Oberlin Lorain jury, and arrested while in the discharge of their duties, on a false charge of kidnapping. *

* * Finding no law in Lorain but the higher law, and seeing the determination of the sheriff, judge, and jury, to send them to the penitentiary anyway, for no crime under any human law, but on a charge trumped up on purpose to drive them out of the country, and having been kept away from their families for most of the summer, and away from their business, at great pecuniary expense to themselves, for the government fees for witnesses do not pay board bills, they proposed to exchange nolle, and the District Attorney consented to it. So the Government has been beaten at last, with law, justice, and facts all on its side; and Oberlin, with its rebellious Higher Law creed, is triumphant. The procedent is a bad one."

While the *Plain Dealer* was circulating this lament through the city of Cleveland with its evening edition, the people were firing a hundred guns on the bank of the lake, and Hecker's band led the procession of Oberlin Rescuers to the Union depot and started them on their homeward way with the tune "Home, Sweet Home." And such a home-coming as was accorded to these men few have ever witnessed.

Thus ended the work of the Underground Railroad in these parts. This was in the midsummer of 1859. In the autumn of that year John Brown's soul began its ominous march; the next year Abraham Lincoln was elected, and all the powers of the General Government were restored to the service of Freedom, the slave-holding states renouncing their share in its responsibilities and its benefits; while the work of aiding fugitives was transferred to the camps of the Union army, and consisted in sheltering and feeding contrabands of war. In June, 1864, while the war was still raging, by one act of Congress, all the laws for the return of fugitives were swept from the statute books.

NOTE.—The authorities consulted for the foregoing statements are, Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," Levi Coffin's "Reminiscences," and J. R. Shipherd's "Oberlin-Wellington Rescue." Of many of the events the author had personal knowledge.

TRACT NO. 88, IN VOL. IV.
WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

MEMORIAL

OF

CHARLES CANDEE BALDWIN, LL.D.,

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE

WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

1896.



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The greatness of a nation is but the sum of the greatness of its individual citizens. The glory of a city or commonwealth arises from the virtue, the ability, and the devotion of the men and women whose good qualities and faithful services make life worth living in it. In the premature death of Judge Baldwin, on February 2, 1895, not only his family and the wide circle of personal friends, but the higher interests of the city of Cleveland, of the State of Ohio, and indeed of the whole country, suffered an irreparable loss. Yet when great and good men die, we

"Lose not wholly what God has given ;
They live on earth in thought and deed,
As truly as in His heaven."

We can serve ourselves and our generation no better than by gathering into one view and putting on record the life and work of our departed friend, that his memory may the better console us in our sorrow, and his admirable qualities of character encourage and stimulate us in the performance of our divinely allotted tasks.

I. CHILDHOOD.

Charles Candee Baldwin was born December 2, 1834, at Middletown, Conn. His parents were Seymour Wesley Baldwin and Mary Candee Baldwin. Early in the 17th century the Baldwins were a prominent family in Aylesbury, England, from which place most of them emigrated to Connecticut in 1637; Sylvester, the direct ancestor of Judge

Baldwin, dying, however, on shipboard before reaching his destination. Mrs. Baldwin was a bright, attractive, and intelligent young woman, of a French Huguenot family early in Connecticut, and descended, through her mother, from such worthies as William Pynchon, the first treasurer of the Massachusetts colony, and the founder of Springfield; Captain Wadsworth, who hid the Connecticut charter; and the famous secretary, John Allyn, of that colony. In every line the lineage of Mr. Baldwin is purely Connecticut for two hundred years.

When Charles was five months old, his parents removed to Elyria, Ohio. A considerable part of the journey was made by boat on the Erie Canal, at that time the most luxurious mode of travel. The crowded condition of the boat made it necessary for many ladies to sleep upon the floor of the ladies' cabin, and it was with the greatest difficulty that a berth was secured for the infant and his mother—a favor which, we are told, was the more readily granted because of the lusty use which he made of his untrained vocal powers.

In 1834 northern Ohio was mainly a wilderness. The first clearings in the forests of Lorain county by white settlers had been effected less than twenty-five years before, but scarcely any progress was made in settlement until after the war of 1812. Elyria was not occupied by settlers until 1817. Though the accessions to the population from then on were unusually rapid for those times, the dense forests yielded slowly to the woodman's ax; so that it is related that when Charles was two years old he was lost in the woods where the Elyria depot now stands.

Judge Baldwin's father was a most energetic, successful and highly respected merchant in Elyria from 1835 to 1847. During this period there is little direct knowledge of the boy's experiences; but from a description of the times which

Judge Baldwin gives in a biography of his father much can be learned indirectly concerning the history of that formative portion of his life.

The trade of a merchant was at that time chiefly conducted by barter. Potash in its various forms, derived from leaching the ashes obtained by burning the heavy timber, constituted the chief article of commerce with the East, and was considered as good as cash. Much lumber was also sent by way of the Erie Canal to New York. The dry goods and groceries were brought with great difficulty after the close of navigation, and Mr. Baldwin's father displayed his energy in highest degree in overcoming these difficulties of prompt transportation.

All this was well calculated to impress the mind of a boy in his teens, as were also the scenes which he constantly witnessed about his father's store. "Elyria in those days," writes Judge Baldwin, "was a sight to see. The farmer came over the road with his heavy wagon, frequently with oxen, for twenty-five miles, bringing part of his family and such articles as he had to sell, and doing the trade for the spring and the fall. The street at midday would be full of wagons, there often being one hundred, more or less." The perplexities of the merchant were increased during this period by the terrible financial crisis of 1837, and Mr. Seymour Baldwin was one of the few who passed through it without failure. The impress of such a father was indelible upon the mind of the son, while the importance of energy and perseverance was emphasized by the loving, but faithful pressure of parental discipline. Judge Baldwin frequently said he never could forget the lessons of perseverance which his father taught him by insisting that when he was sent for the cows he must not come home without them, but must overcome his timidity and look in every nook and corner of the pasture until

they were found—a habit of action which was pre-eminent throughout all his later life.

A little more than a year after reaching Elyria, Charles' mother died, leaving his brother David an infant five days old. After a time their father married for a second wife Miss Fidelia Hall, who thus came into the care of these small children. Of her Judge Baldwin wrote, that she was as gentle and conscientious as any mother could be.

In 1847 the family returned to Connecticut, and resided for nine years in Meriden. During this period, when fourteen years of age, Charles entered a boarding school in Middletown to prepare for college. Among his companions at that time, and one with whom he maintained pleasant association in later life, was the distinguished historian, John Fiske. At the age of sixteen, Charles entered Wesleyan University, Middletown, graduating with honor in August, 1855, at the age of twenty. Among his classmates, is Justice Brewer, now of the Supreme Court of the United States. Immediately upon graduating from college, young Baldwin entered Harvard Law School, taking the degree of LL. B., in 1857.

II. SCHOOL DAYS.

The character of the man was already abundantly foreshadowed in that of the college student. Hon. A. J. Coe, of Meriden, Conn., writes on July 8, 1895, to Mrs. Baldwin, "After his immediate family and his brother David, I believe that I knew your husband better than anybody; having been intimate with him forty-eight years, six of which we were room mates. Except one or two boyish squabbles in the first month of our rooming together, I am sure we never had an unpleasant word. He was a strong character, pronounced in his opinions, his likes and dislikes, and, though we sometimes differed widely, such was his transparent candor, kindness and friendliness, that it was impossible to feel hurt by

anything he said or did; while his ready wit and genial flow of conversation were always charming.

“Over his high intellectual gifts presided a supreme common sense, the ability to see things in their true relations and proportions, a clear sightedness which contributed greatly to his eminence as a judge and lawyer and his solid success in life. Ability to see the right and courage to stand for it, and resist injustice, whether from equals or inferiors, marked him in his boyhood. I recall some notable instances.”

Among Mr. Baldwin's papers there is preserved a diary extending from 1853 to 1856 in which there appears on every page the impress of a spirit profoundly conscientious, cherishing the highest and noblest of ends, but withal so simple, so genial and good natured, that one is not surprised at the strength of the attachment which so universally bound his companions to him.

The diary is introduced by some preliminary reflections and resolves, written upon the first Sunday of June, 1853, which are worthy of permanent preservation.

“Sunday, June 5th, 1853.

“To say that I have been benefited heretofore by writing a diary would be trite. I surely have been benefited very much, physically and mentally. Physically, because this has enabled me to adhere to resolutions in regard to exercise and diet. Mentally and morally, because it has partially given me that energy which I so much need, and has kept constantly before me my failings. It has also undoubtedly tended to develop what little power I may have as a writer. It has also been a source of pleasure, for no one's works are so pleasant to read as our own. Every one feels the most interest in his own productions. No matter whether they are published or not, they are the children of his brain, and he likes them proportionally. I am now resolved to continue in

the execution of this purpose, i. e., keeping a diary, as this book is evidence, and as the moral utility arises not from the mere detail of physical facts, but from the reflections drawn from these facts, it seemeth to me good to make here a few resolutions which my judgment teaches should be made, and closely to observe in my life as here narrated every departure from my rules of action. No place is so appropriate for this as the commencement of the book, which seems to make a sort of new era, and where I can easily refer to them, to see whether or not I have fulfilled their purposes.

“I am glad that the day to open this book has fallen upon the Sabbath, for now I have plenty of time to attend to these necessary resolves, and moreover no day seems so suitable to form resolutions for the future as that day which God has commanded us to set apart as holy and as consecrated to religion—to moral reform. Moral reform includes every kind of reform, for every act has a moral character. But I must proceed to more practical reflections and to resolves. My prominent defect is a want of perseverance and energy. To reform my character, as is incumbent upon me, it is necessary that I should exert much of this quality. Resolution after resolution has been made and broken, broken not because I forgot them, but because I lacked the energy requisite to a fulfillment of them. Oh! may I have the firmness which a Christian should have. This will preserve me from sins of actual commission, and give firmness to perform my resolves. My principal mental fault is this very lack of energy and perseverance which exhibits itself in a difficulty in confining my attention closely to my book. My mind cannot attend to more than one thing at one time, and if it is allowed to wander in reverie over many, nothing will be accomplished in any of them. Nothing, in a mind incapable of attention, will ever result from thought but vain vagaries, speculations

void of depth or solidity. I must make, and will make, an earnest effort to discipline my mind better. This effort I have made heretofore, and I must now endeavor to impress upon my mind the necessity of a long protracted effort. A disposition to fritter away time also results from this prime fault; for what is frittering away time but a non-confining of the attention, which causes it to attend to nothing. I know that it will at first be very hard to counteract these long continued habits of the mind, but each new effort will give me strength until abstraction may be substituted for non-attention, and consummate industry, an industry which seizes upon every hour and moment, for idleness. It needs firm, earnest, unyielding effort, and such an effort, by the help of God, will I make. So much for the manner of my self-reform. The particulars perhaps I may only partially state here.

"I must hereafter pay more attention to my memory, and exercise it more than heretofore by learning more memoriter. I must endeavor to read with more attention, and to do this, must throw aside stories, especially such as I may read only for the interest of the story, as such a course has a most injurious effect, by causing me to hurry along, seizing only the principal points of the story. Exercise and diet I must pay particular attention to, as on the health of the body depends in a great measure that of the mind. But there is no necessity of enumeration. My whole reform may be accomplished solely by energy in the accomplishment of the purposes which I am continually forming. May I ever remember that my own strength cannot do this, and thus may I constantly go to the Fountain of all our strength in prayer, ever remembering that it is God who reforms us, and the means of obtaining his assistance is by prayer. Let prayer ever be my chief dependence, and God will aid me, I shall be successful.

"There is one other little item which I will speak separately of however. This is Early Rising. Last term I got into the very bad habit of studying in the morning in bed. This term part of the time I have risen at five, and part of the time have lain abed as I did last term. Now I must rise early. No time in all the day is so precious as this, and I cannot afford to be prodigal of time.

"Webster was an early riser, and his most prodigious labors resulted from his morning efforts. He also bore oral testimony to the peculiar value of these hours. The greatest labors of man and the most splendid triumphs of his genius are the products of morning labor. It must necessarily be so. Certainly a vigorous mind, one that is active with life and healthful, will accomplish far more than the same mind when dispirited, jaded, and wearied. It must be so. Therefore it is my *duty*, owed to myself, my fellow-man, and my God, that I arise at five. I perhaps *should* arise before that time, but this will at least be enough advance to make the first time."

It would be interesting to follow out in detail the efforts put forth to attain the high ideal of these resolves. But space forbids. Those who knew Judge Baldwin, however, could not fail to see that these high resolves were ever before his mind; but they could also see, better than he ever did, that the ideals were superhuman, and that however willing the spirit might be, the flesh was too weak to embody them. Thus we find him writing in the very first entry, "Yesterday I had the headache and was otherwise a little unwell, and it continues somewhat to-day. Still I go on with my lessons." Fortunately, however, one of the professors was absent from class, and so the students had a partial holiday, which they improved by an excursion to the woods to get evergreens to trim the hall for a festival. (The diary records with delight

how they obtained some delicious bread and milk at a farmhouse, and rambled off into the fields to stab fish with wooden spears.)

On Tuesday morning, also, he writes, "I felt unwell, but am rid of the headache. Prof. Lane to-day in Greek called on me in exactly the place I read yesterday. Mathematics I did not study to-day, but lay abed." On Wednesday he writes, "This morn I set my alarm at five o'clock, but heard neither that nor the bell. But after not hearing all that noise, I was awakened at half-past five by chum's walking across the floor. This morning, having a double lesson in Mathematics to learn, I came to the conclusion that Analytics was hard."

On the next day he is prompted to pronounce a blessing on the head of one of his professors who had given them only half a lesson on account of some missionary meeting, and confesses that the students played some during class time on his side of the room. He laments that he has done no reading of late, but had spent some of his reading time in trifling and play, and especially had wasted all the previous evening "in Reynold's room, hearing his expositions of phrenology." On Saturday he is off for an excursion, visiting a silver mine and picking strawberries on the way and racing upon the river with his companions in boats. "It was a time," he writes, "long to be remembered by me at least. As for literary labor I have not accomplished one bit of it to-day. I have often to-day wished myself home where I know the strawberries are now thick."

On Sunday, the 12th he writes, "My chum is absent, having gone home, where I sincerely wish I was." The style of the sermon that day was "very affected, and, like all other affected styles, very soporific in its effects, more so than the cake Æneas gave to Cerberus (probably)." A part of his

"light" reading at this time was Williams' work on China entitled "The Middle Kingdom." On Monday, June 13th, he writes, "I have been somewhat lazy to-day, but, strange to say, seem to learn the classics easiest when in that state of mind. I did not rise at five according to my resolution." And after detailing various incidents of the day, he adds, "Yesterday I did not spend as I ought, by any means. I did very wrong, I feel that I must be more earnest. Earnestness, deep heartfelt feeling, is a necessary requisite to success as a Christian or as a man of the world. A deep earnestness is needed in my studies, an earnestness that will keep me steady at work and *hard at work*, not merely 'poring' over my books, but thinking." The following day we find described as the hottest of the season, when "down fell the beautiful standing dickeys, with the standing power all taken out of them by the effervescence from our cheeks." Meanwhile a letter from "Dave," containing "two lines and a half," tantalizes him with the picture of strawberries ripe and ready for the first sacrifice when he shall reach home. By this time, also, he is reading another history of China which he "hopes to finish."

Two or three pages are devoted on subsequent days to a summary of the impressions made by the History of China which he had been reading. On the 17th of June he begins the reading of Plautus, and descants upon the indebtedness of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson to this classical writer, for some of their plays and many of their jokes. On the following morning he gets up at five o'clock and "at half past seven and three minutes," he writes, "I started for home afoot. I intended to go as quick as I could, and ran part of the way, but I am astonished at my own speed. I reached the signpost, five and a half miles, in one hour and two minutes. I reached home at seventeen minutes past nine, making the unprecedented quick trip of one hour and forty-four minutes."

For the rest of the day he revelled in strawberries and in the society of his home friends and relatives.

On June 27th we find this suggestive entry which illustrates a trait of his character that was very marked in later life, and which manifested itself at the very beginning of his professional career.

"Alexander Smith (I would like to possess his poems) has a beautiful allusion to the sea :

' The bridegroom sea
Is toying with the shore, his wedded bride,
And in the fullness of his marriage joy
He decorates her tawny brow with shells,
Retires apace to see how fair she looks,
Then proud runs up to kiss her.'

As little love as I have for poetry, this nevertheless strikes me as an image beautiful, from the scene itself, from the fitness, the beauty of the comparison, and also from its newness and its oddness. It is original. I sincerely wish I could spend all the money that I pleased upon books. I certainly would have a fine library. I am a miser in books without the means to foster my passion. The probability is that when I 'become of age' I shall buy too many books and read half of them."

A student who was in his office in the early sixties is fond of telling how greatly he was impressed by the elegant private library which Judge Baldwin had even then gathered in his home, but it is due to say also that he had read them as well as bought them.

An extract from his diary on June 28th, brings out the deep religious tone which underlay all of Judge Baldwin's thought and action. Referring to a discussion in one of the societies on the question, "Do Philosophical Discussions lead to Skepticism?" he writes: "In relation to this question I would say that I think that whereas infidels philosophize, they do so rather to justify their skepticism than to found it.

They pursue philosophical speculations because they are infidels. Speculation is the effect of skepticism, not the cause of it; otherwise speculation must lead to Christianity, if the latter is true."

The suppressed humor that everyone noticed who became acquainted with Judge Baldwin shows itself throughout this diary. He was witty and quick at repartee. Nearly a year elapsed before another entry, but in this he gives a pretty full summary of the events that had happened meanwhile and begins his regular diary with three pages of French. He was now busy preparing for Commencement, especially in attending to many business affairs laid upon him by the class. Upon Commencement Day he was ill and barely able to keep up during the diversified exercises of the occasion. The dinner, he says, he let pretty much alone, in consequence of his illness. On the following day the new fledged Bachelor of Arts, he writes, "started at nine o'clock in the evening for Meriden with J. H. B. in a buggy loaded to overflowing, holding on a mattress with his hands, Charles C. Baldwin, B. A. He reached home about eleven o'clock at night, and was as sick the next day as he wishes ever to be. August 1st . . . C. C. B. weighed 129 pounds and was five feet eight and three-fourths inches high. August 28th he weighed 133. The greatest weight he had ever attained prior to this time was 138."

Upon the 23th of August, 1855, he writes, "I started for the Law School of Harvard University. I stopped at the American House, Boston, over night, and on Wednesday went over to Cambridge, where, after some trouble, I was introduced to Prof. Parsons at Dane Hall. He received me kindly and gave me some advice . . . He recommended me to join some junior club . . . He then showed me the lecture room, saying that those in the right-hand seats he

questioned, those in the middle some times, those who sat at the left never. I could sit where I pleased, but he recommended the middle seats. . . . I engaged lodgings at Mrs. Stewart's, corner of Brattle Street and Brattle Square, just opposite the Brattle House. Room at forty dollars, board at sixty dollars, a term of twenty weeks."

The diary for 1856 is introduced by a poem in the metre of Hiawatha, which had just appeared, which gives so many touches of contemporary history, as well as of young Baldwin's traits of character, that it deserves to be copied entire.

Should you ask me, what the news is,
Should you ask me, I should tell you,
That there is no news I know of,
But each day is like its fellow,
And on each one we have lectures,
Lectures "Kent," and "Constitution,"
"Bills and Notes," and Jurisprudence,"
"Real Estate," "*Complectus Legum*,"
Then *et ceteras* by others,
Hilliard, Choate, and Wendell Phillips,
Choate the Eloquent in Boston,
Boston at the Tremont Temple:
How the street was filled before it,
Long before the door was opened.
When it opened, then how crowded:
Oaths from men, and screams from ladies,
Cry of "Stand back," deep and earnest,
Cry of "Stand back," all unheeded.
Lady fainted, but no matter,
Couldn't stop for that disaster.
Choate, the eloquent, the mighty,
Spoke about the Age of Progress,
But he said of Progress little,
Spoke far more of Scott the Baron.
Prince of the Magicians was he,
Best of medicine men the Baron,
As he wrote his lays and novels,
Healing bruised hearts with tonics,
With his charms and incantations.
Don't you think so as you read him?
Read the Lay of the Last Minstrel,
Lady of the Lake, fair Ellen,

Or of Ivanhoe and others.

Soon there came here Wendell Phillips,
And the boys liked him much better,
For he spoke of life and action,
"Agitation," and the words fell
From his lips like unto music,
Such as comes from fading spirits
Sailing in the white cause;
Choate, they thought, so sweet the sound was,
Could play only second fiddle.

Then again the note was changed.
Wild and hurried was the speaker,
As was Rachel, when a Stuart,
Heaping bitter words on malice.
Even Southern boys admired him,
And the Northern wild applauded.

But to-day I believe is Fast Day,
And I heard a fast-day sermon,
Sermon preached in B. by Parker.
And three times the hall resounded
With the plaudits of the hearers,
As they listened to the sermon,
As the speaker spoke of Kansas,
Rifles, and of greatest Beecher.
Little was it like a sermon,
And yet such he preaches Sundays,
Takes away from youth the Bible,
Tells them, "Stand by your own natures,"
Natures different far from Parker's,
Thoughtless, young, impatient, ardent,
And they fall as glides a comet
Far into the distant heaven
Once passed away is gone forever.

But just now I saw the author,
Author of sweet Hiawatha,
To his home below was walking.
Do you ask me if he's handsome?
If you ask me, I should tell you
That he's not—nor yet is ugly.
Looks a little vain, and weak, and
Older than I thought, say fifty,
He his little girl was leading,
Who seemed like to Minnehaha,
Leaping, dancing, playing, mouthing,
Swinging, swaying, while her father
Looked as if supremely happy.

The diary for May 9th contains an analysis of Edward Everett's Eulogy upon Washington, which the writer was permitted to hear. Young Baldwin's lively interest in all that surrounded him is further shown in the description of Longfellow found in his diary for May 10th. "The poet is now forty-seven years of age. He resides in Cambridge on Brattle Street, at the old Cragie Place, the headquarters of Washington for nine months at Cambridge. As Everett says, the place once made glorious by the presence of the Father of his Country, is now wreathed with the laurels of poetry. Personally Longfellow does not promise all he is. Of medium height; his forehead slopes back, neither a high nor a broad one. He has, however, a fine blue eye. Phrenologically his head does not appear very strongly developed, except that the upper and back part is very unusually full. With grey whiskers carefully trimmed and combed, and grey hair oiled and parted behind, he has rather a foppish appearance, which I suppose does not belie him, though he does not, as Lowell says, wear his hat on one whisker. Perhaps Lowell taught him better. His hair is quite grey, and he looks older than he is, but walks briskly nearly every day in front of Mrs. Stewart's, a thing which he did not do last term before *Hia-watha* was published."

III. PROFESSIONAL CAREER.

In March, 1857, young Baldwin entered the law office of S. B. and F. J. Prentiss, in Cleveland, Ohio, and was admitted to practice in that city in October, 1857. The advantages and training of this partnership were very great, since no one has ever occupied the bench of Cuyahoga County who had the reputation of possessing a more accurate and logical legal mind and more learning than the senior member of this firm, who, ten years later, was elected to the bench in Cleveland, and continued there until he retired some years after. On

being admitted to the bar, Mr. Baldwin located first in the office where he studied, and in 1861 was admitted to equal partnership by the senior of the firm under the name of S. B. Prentiss and Baldwin. In 1867 the firm was dissolved by the election of S. B. Prentiss to the bench of Common Pleas, and the successive partnerships became C. W. Prentiss and Baldwin; Prentiss, Baldwin and Ford; and Baldwin and Ford, which latter was the style when, in 1884, Mr. Baldwin was nominated to the Circuit bench, a position which he held to the time of his death, having been re-elected the third time shortly before that lamented event.

On the 8th of September, 1862, Judge Baldwin was married to Miss Caroline S. Prentiss, a daughter of Charles W. Prentiss, Esq., who was later one of his partners. All three of the Prentisses here mentioned with whom Judge Baldwin was associated in partnership were sons of Judge Samuel Prentiss, of Vermont, who was United States Senator from 1830 to 1842. Judge Baldwin's devotion to his family and his attachment to home life were marked features in his character. Outside of his family circle he spent little time in social recreation. Of his four children, two died in early years, but their memory was ever fresh in his mind to arouse on occasions the tenderest susceptibilities of the human heart. Of his two surviving children, Mary Candee is the wife of Dr. John P. Sawyer, Professor of Medicine and Clinical Medicine in the Western Reserve Medical College, while the son, Samuel Prentiss, is continuing the traditions of the family; having recently been admitted to the bar and begun the practice of law in the office of Kline & Tolles, of Cleveland.

During the early years of his practice all the strong qualities of character and mind observable in him throughout his college life, displayed themselves amid the larger responsibilities which devolved upon him. Hon. Henry C. White,

now Judge of the Probate Court, entered the office as a student at the same time at which Baldwin became a partner. In the memorial services held by the Cuyahoga County Bar, shortly after his death, Judge White said :

"I cannot leave without bearing witness to the personal loss I feel in the death of Judge Baldwin. It is more than thirty-two years ago that I entered his office as a student, and from that time to this he has laid me constantly under obligations for considerate counsel, great kindness, and great helpfulness all along the path. . . . I remember him when he first began the practice of the profession here with Judge Samuel B. Prentiss. . . . At that time Judge Baldwin was not in very vigorous health, but he was an exceedingly busy man. He never let moments go to waste. I think his great success in life has largely been due to his unwearied indefatigable industry. He was a great worker, and he worked to the very best possible advantage. As one of our discriminating members of the bar said the other day, there was no waste tissue in Judge Baldwin's composition. . . . His mind was well equipped for the profession ; while he had the gifts and capacities for business, he was also learned as a lawyer. He knew where to find the learning that is necessary to accomplish the great purposes of his profession. And with it all there was that genial flow of humor and good feeling that held him from criticism ; I never heard him speak disparagingly of any member of the bar in all my acquaintance with him."

At the same meeting, Jarvis M. Adams, Esq., bore testimony, from an acquaintance of thirty years, to his high estimation of Judge Baldwin's character, saying, "I, too, have had occasion to be grateful for the uniform kindness I have received from him in a somewhat intimate acquaintance beginning with his arrival in Cleveland. . . . I never met

him without being specially glad to see him, not only because he was what he was, but because he had such a kindly face which spoke the good will towards men that seemed to animate him."

Indeed, every one who associated with Judge Baldwin was impressed with the kindliness of his heart and his readiness to promote their interests. P. H. Kaiser, Esq., writes, "that he entered the office of Prentiss & Baldwin as a student in 1868, and that when admitted to the bar on the following spring the thing he needed most of all else was a place where he might be somewhat useful in some office and earn a little compensation. At this juncture, Judge Baldwin, simply because of the interest he took in a young man, sought out that place and found me a situation where I could earn a little something on regular pay."

H. Clark Ford, Esq., said: "As an ordinary country boy I entered Judge Baldwin's office in the fall of 1875. His thorough manliness and unostentatious kindness at once attracted me. As the days came and went, he found me of some help to him, and I discovered in him an ideal master workman. The usual relationship of student and preceptor continued, the acquaintance passed into friendship, and in time ripened into intimacy not unlike that of father and son, continuing without change or friction to the moment of his death. . . . Accurate, just, wise business methods were natural to him. His judgment of men, matters of business, and values, seemed to me to be the expression of a law or force of nature, with which he was familiar by intuition and experience. He was one of the most thoroughly educated men in this city of many scholars. What he needed and desired to know he knew thoroughly. He possessed pre-eminently the power of concentration.

" . . . His love of tried friends was tenacious and loyal, uniformly expressing itself in many ways. With devotion to

his chosen profession and with faithful attention to the many and important trusts committed to him, he yet found time to be a useful friend of science, of history, and of original research. In one of the *Genealogies* published by him, with modesty he makes this simple statement about himself: 'He is the author of this book and has a taste for antiquities.' . . . To these qualities of heart and capacities of mind was joined a love of the beautiful, manifesting itself especially in the paintings and works of art with which his home was stored. For this noble man to live was to grow. Each passing month found his mind more thoroughly stored, his usefulness enlarged, his character and affection broadened. In every way Judge Baldwin was a most useful member of society, and a best fruit of our American institutions."

Frank Wilcox, Esq., adds his personal testimony to similar effect. He says: "In the latter part of the seventies I entered the office of Prentiss, Baldwin & Ford as a student. At that time that firm had as lucrative and large a practice as almost any in town. One thing that surprised me in reference to Judge Baldwin was his power of concentration and work. He was a man of affairs, a man who accomplished things, who was impatient of nothing in this world but slackness. He was a man who not only worked himself, but had a faculty of putting those to work who were about him. As a friend he was always loyal. Every student who left his office was afterwards to him one of his boys; he took an interest in him; he inquired of him. He was not the kind of a friend who knows you casually when it doesn't cost him anything to be friendly, but he was a friend who stood by you in sickness and trouble, as I can personally testify. With many others I feel a sense of personal loss in his death."

Judge Baldwin's early practice was quite general, but later it related largely to banks, corporations, and the management

of trusts. From 1875 to 1878 he was president of the Cleveland Board of Underwriters. At different times he was chosen director of four banks, and was twice offered the presidency of a leading bank in Cleveland. His rare capacity and sterling integrity brought into his hands, from the first, business unusually important in its character and responsibility. The noted case of Brown, Bonnell & Co., the great iron manufacturers of Youngstown; who were compelled to go into bankruptcy, was argued by Judge Baldwin, by brief and orally, several times in the Supreme Court of the United States, leading to a very successful issue of a litigation involving a million and a half dollars, the work of the company having continued meanwhile without interruption. In cases too numerous to mention, widows and orphans have had reason to remember him with gratitude for the faithfulness and success with which he had managed the complicated affairs of the estates upon which they were dependent.

"Among lawyers," wrote, some years ago, one who knew him well, "Judge Baldwin ranks high. His cases are always prepared with great care, and pushed with great force, and his legal papers are noted for breadth of comprehension and clearness of statement as to the matter at issue. He never jumps at a conclusion; but, like the plowshare, goes to the bottom of the furrow, turning everything to the surface, which he gathers up and tosses to court or jury in short, sharp, meaty sentences. He is quick to grasp the main points in a case, seeming to embrace at a glance all there is in it for himself or opponent. He is a laborious and systematic student, and his mind is under such discipline and control that he can give to a subject the full force of his reasoning powers at any moment. In this respect he has scarcely an equal, being able to divert his thoughts from a given topic, and engage at once on another, disposing of that and gathering up the threads of the former, as if there had been no in-

terruption. In short, he is seldom disconcerted, is always on his guard and ready for any emergency. His capacity for mental labors seems to be well-nigh unlimited; in other words, he seems to be able to let out an extra link at any time, and it is probable that there is not another man in this part of the State to-day who turns off as much work in as workmanlike a manner. On whatever topic he may speak or write, he impresses one that he could have said or written much more, had he chosen so to do. He always fills the occasion completely, perfectly, never going beyond it, a quality as desirable as it is rare. He begins with his subject and stops with it. Indeed, there is ample illustration of what a member of the legal profession once said of him: 'He always does everything well.' Of his mental qualities, conspicuous and useful was his memory, which was remarkably active and retentive."

Mr. Baldwin never held or was candidate for any political or public office until his nomination and election as judge in 1884. At that time, on the organization of the Circuit Court under the change in the Constitution of Ohio, he was unanimously presented by his county as their candidate. Of the 160 votes cast at the nominating convention at Elyria he received 142; while the next highest candidate nominated received but 105, and he was then elected, and afterwards twice re-elected by large majorities. For the latter part of this time he was presiding judge of this court. During all the time he was untiring in his attention to the duties of the office, while it was impossible for him to relieve himself from finishing in the United States Court a large amount of professional business of a high order.

So well founded were his judicial decisions that very few of them have been reversed by the higher court. Though a man of specially tender sensibilities, he has shown himself to

a remarkable degree, as was said by Judge Hale, able to rise above his sympathies in defining the exact equities of the law and in announcing its inevitable decisions. In one notable case, where the death of a beautiful little girl, about the age of one of his own that had died shortly before, had been caused by a railroad train, though his feelings were so overcome that he completely broke down in giving his decision, making it necessary for another judge to read it, it was clear that he had not suffered his sympathies to warp his sense of legal equity. While in another case where he was compelled by the evidence to pronounce the death penalty upon a foul juvenile murderer, the protection of society was so clearly all-important to his mind, that he met the ordeal without the least shrinking of his sensibility.

To similar effect his associate on the bench, Hon. John C. Hale, remarks that "Judge Baldwin's sound business judgment, his unswerving integrity, added to a thorough knowledge of the law, combined to give value to his professional advice, and render his work in the conduct of the trial of a contested case efficient and successful. Not a few business men of this city remember with the deepest feeling of gratitude his professional advice, given them upon complicated business matters, whereby they were saved the trouble and vexations of long litigations; and still others, with a like gratitude, will remember the efficient aid given them in cases where adjustment was impossible and litigation unavoidable.

"As a lawyer, his advice was always conscientiously given, and his work faithfully performed. He never deceived a client or took undue advantage of an opponent. He was, in the true sense of the word, an honorable and efficient practitioner. We might, if time permitted, recall many cases involving complications of facts and law which he conducted to a successful issue.

"Of his work upon the bench I leave mostly for others to speak. You all remember that upon the organization of the Circuit Court he was urged by many of the leading lawyers of this city to accept a position upon the bench. He was nominated and elected, and in the allotment that followed the term of four years fell to him. At the end of that term he was re-elected for the full term of six years, and again at the last Autumn election, re-elected to another term, the duties of which he was destined never to enter upon. Every associate who has served with him upon the bench would gladly bear testimony to his faithful, conscientious and efficient work.

"His examination of cases was thorough and exhaustive. His conclusions were reached upon the facts and law involved in the case without the slightest reference to the parties to be affected by the judgment, the personnel of counsel, or any outside influences whatever. He deserved, and I believe commanded the confidence and respect of the entire bar. But in this work those who knew him best regarded him most highly. It can be truly said of him, the better he was known, the more he was loved and respected."

IV. REST AND RECUPERATION IN EUROPE.

By too close attention to business, Mr. Baldwin's health became so much impaired that in 1870, accompanied by his father, he spent the summer in Europe for recuperation. The zest with which he visited the centers of art and historic interest in the Old World was frequently apparent in conversation throughout the rest of his life. The antiquities of Chester, in England, seemed to have been especially attractive to him. In his frequent conversations with me his references to his walk around the walls of this ancient city in company with his father revealed in strong light at once his antiquarian interest and the warmth of the affection which bound him to his family friends.

The home letters written during this absence are extremely interesting, both as revealing the heart of the man and as reflecting the impressions made at that time by the Old World upon a loyal and highly educated American. To his little daughter Mary, now Mrs. Sawyer, he writes as follows:

“Steam Ship Cuba,

“In Mid Ocean 27 Apl. 1870.

“7 bells (7½ o'clock A. M.)

“My dear good little girl:

“You would be astonished if you could have come with papa and could now see him as he writes you with his paper on the wash stand in a room that rocks to and fro—making it hard to write. Papa doesn't think though that you would have enjoyed it very well. There is one little boy on the boat who has been sick ever since we started. Many of the passengers have been sick, papa among the rest. Sea-sickness, they call it.

“Papa has not seen any ground for a week, whole week, nothing but water—isn't that funny?—ever restless, even more so than you, for the ocean never sleeps. There is one little girl though who seems as bright as a dollar running around the deck. I called her little pussy cat yesterday, but she did not hear me. I guess she has got her sea legs on.

“You will get this letter from Ireland, the country that Mary came from, for I can't put it into the post office for some days yet until I get to land. I tell you there's lots of water, isn't there.

“There's another very funny thing about it—although it is half-past seven o'clock here, you are not up yet, and will be abed for some hours, and when papa is eating his small dinner at 12 o'clock, you will have just finished your breakfast. The sun gets up so much sooner here, and so do I.

"I wonder if mamma will give you a first lesson in geography, and show you how it is I am so much earlier than you, and where I am. Kiss mamma and baby for papa, and when you pray to God remember papa and ask that the good God will keep him safe in body and in soul.

"Wouldn't it seem funny to you to just be on a boat and not see anything but water all around for ten days?

"Your affectionate papa."

Landing in Liverpool, Mr. Baldwin and his father left directly for London, where, notwithstanding his neuralgia, he went to Westminster Abbey in time to hear the fag end of a sermon, "sitting in the Poets' Corner, and just opposite me," he writes, "was the monument of Isaac Barrow, of famous memory, whose works Dr. Goodrich once asked me to buy for the Library."

On Tuesday they went on to Paris, whence, after a brief visit, they departed for Marseilles and Nice, reaching the latter place on the 10th of May, where they remained but a single day, going by way of Genoa, Leghorn, Rome and Pisa to Florence, where we find them upon the 23d of May, and on the 27th in Venice. It would be interesting to reproduce the many comments from Mr. Baldwin's correspondence touching upon the scenery, the art, and the new phases of civilization which came to his notice during this rapid journey. But space forbids. The most gratifying thing of all is that he finds his strength returning and his health recuperating. The following letter to his little daughter, however, we will reproduce entire:

"VENICE, ITALY, 28 May, 1870.

"My dear little girl:

"Have you wanted another letter? Papa has yet had only one letter dated 24 Apl., but hopes to hear from you in ten days more. Do you think that is a long time for me to

wait? In this place there are no horses and carriages, but boats instead, that go in water. Papa has seen no animals in the streets but a few dogs, and many doves that fly all around, are in St. Mark's Square. The people feed them and they are very tame. Yesterday papa stood by a lady who called them by feeding. Hundreds flew towards and around her, seeming like a strong wind and almost frightening her. Grandpa fed them some bread to-day, and they came all around him. In the same square is a clock—the hour strikes on a bell on a tower. There are two bronze men, one on each side of the bell, not alive but images—but first one strikes the bell as if alive, then there is some distance below an image of Jesus and his mother, who holds the baby Jesus. Then a door opens on one side, and after the other bronze man strikes the time, out comes an image of an angel followed by 'three wise men of the east' (mamma will read you the story in the Bible). When the angel gets before Jesus' mother (Mary) he lifts a gilt trumpet, and then the three men follow, and as each passes Mary with the babe in her arms, it lifts its hand to its head and bows—then they all go one after another into another door which shuts. Would you feel astonished if you saw all this and knew they were not alive? A great many people stand below in the square to see it. Papa sees so many strange things that he cannot get time to write about them, but there are books about them which you w-i-l-l l-e-a-r-n t-o r-e-a-d a-n-d f-i-n-d v-e-r-y n-i-c-e.

"So thinks your loving papa."

Passing from Venice through Milan, where he complains of having had neuralgia again, they crossed the Alps over the Simplon Pass, reaching Brieg upon the 6th of June, going on to Geneva upon the 8th, where he received letters from home. From Geneva the visit was made to Chamouni and the Mer de Glace. A letter to his wife from Geneva on the

15th of June brings out that serious undertone of life which was always present to give character to Judge Baldwin's work. "The world," he writes, "is not all rose colored. If it was I would be well and at home—or you and the children would be here with me and we could travel regardless of time and money. God does not mean it all rose colored. I don't believe it best it should be. I am glad I came away. It was best. I was all broken down—Father seems surprised to see how much—so little vitality, as he often says. I am gaining. Every attack of neuralgia has been lighter. Getting well may be a work of time, but there is no reason to suppose I will not get well if I exercise ordinary prudence. The world is bright before us. God has been very kind to us and will be. Every day shortens my absence. I do not feel like staying away longer than is necessary, though I think best, since I am here, to carry out substantially the plan made when we came as a matter of judgment more than of preference . . . Have no apprehension of my health and safety. I will be all right, and more right every day and the dangers of traveling one-quarter of the globe from you are not as much as near home."

From Interlaken, on June 20th, he writes a long letter in which his fine appreciation of natural scenery appears in his description of the Jungfrau: "We have here a fine view of the Jungfrau, with its silver horn, all covered with snow, and its higher peaks so perpendicular that they are only partly covered, and its glacier (one of many) reaching down toward us. The Jungfrau is very modest, and covers its virgin snows with a frequent veil of clouds, and indeed this combination of many peaks round whose summits roll their own clouds is a frequent, characteristic Alpine scene. A clear view of the peaks is an exception. Yesterday on the lower long range before the house the clouds appeared in a long distinct

line—seemingly not far above us and moved round the mountain on a level line like so many white nuns in procession, or like so many hooded monks who

“tell their bead in drops of rain,”

for little sprinkling showers are a frequent accompaniment of these clouds.”

From Interlaken they went over the Brunig Pass and through the Lake of the Four Cantons to Lucerne, and thence via Basle and Baden Baden to Heidelberg, and thence through Mannheim, Frankfort, Weisbaden, and Mayence to take a steamer down the Rhine. Making a brief stay at Cologne, they went on to Amsterdam, where, in answer to a letter from home, we find him writing, on July 10th, “You think we had a ‘grand good time’ in Italy. Ah—don’t believe too heartily in travelers’ tales. The guidebooks all reiterate the statement that travelers have great calls for patience, and only a few days since an old traveler said, travels were much pleasanter in ‘retrospection.’ Travelers tell what they think will interest. The annoyances and discomforts and labor they endure generally with fair patience because they can not help it. What would be the use of freeing one’s mind to an Italian who would not understand a word you said?”

On the 15th of July they are at Paris again, where a week or more was spent revelling in its art galleries and historical scenes, when they returned to England by the Straits of Dover.

Here the historical and antiquarian predilections of Judge Baldwin’s mind found ample scope for gratification, and we naturally find him speeding to Aylesbury, concerning which he writes, “This is the county town of Buckinghamshire—whence came the Baldwins in 1627 or 1628 to America. It is a curious town with not one straight street—crooked—narrow—very compact with lots of inns—Nags Head—George

—White Heart—Red Lion, etc., etc., etc.—one at every entrance into town as well as many within.

“I got a dogcart, a large double gig, and a man to drive, and rode out over the ‘New Road,’ still so-called, built by Sir John Baldwin over three hundred years ago, to Aston Clinton, of which parish was Sylvester who left England for the wilderness of New England, but who never saw the promised land, ‘having died on the passage.’ The old church was there but much ‘restored’ since him, but preserving the old form—a rude Gothic with oak roof and seats. Built partly of stone and partly of the flints found there so abundantly in the chalk imbedded in the plaster, a very frequent material for building in that part of Bucks.

“The church was very pretty indeed—no doubt pretty when in old times he saw it and had my ancestor Richard baptized there. St. Leonard’s then of that parish, is about four miles away, and Richard of St. Leonard’s, uncle of Sylvester, died there in 1636. The manor of Dundridge came from him to Henry, brother of Sylvester. I presume that Richard the elder inherited or received the premises from his father Henry, whose son Sylvester was father of

Henry	and	Sylvester
heir of Richard.		died on passage.
		¹ Richard
		who settled in Milford.

“I went to see the old manor—it belongs now to some clergyman in Kent. The present tenant had been there forty years, and when she went there there was a large rambling very old house there of very respectable size and appearance, but so old that it is now replaced by a new one. In front lay a deep ditch with water—said to be a part of the old moat of former warlike days. I could trace remains of a ditch on one other side, on one side none, the rear being filled up with fallow, yard, etc.

"The front was the old 'common,' a mile long, and I could almost see the estate of Richard who had large lands, who provided by will for the distribution largely among the poor of three thousand pounds—fifteen thousand dollars of money, and who provided for his plate armor, etc.

"He talked too of the Chapel of St. Leonard, where, no doubt, he attended service. His brother Sylvester lived on the 'Chapel Land' just opposite the chapel. There were no antique remains, but the old chapel is still there.

"Destroyed in the civil wars of England except the walls, and rebuilt soon after, the interior is not the same, but the wall, the general form, and it is safe to think the general appearance of the building, is much as when Sylvester lived opposite it.

"It seemed curious, and greatly interested me, to tread where my ancestors three hundred years ago had lived, and meet the things they met—the chapel of St. Leonard, the chapel land, the manor of Dundridge, the old moat. The Baldwin Arms are in the chapel, though of date after my ancestor came to America. The family are all gone there, and only the name remains in 'Baldwin's Woods.' Why called so no one there knew.

"I then drove to Cholesbury, where I found some entries of the Baldwin marriages, and the vicar and his daughter insisted on my going in to lunch. The country was beautiful indeed, the fields picturesquely bounded by hedges, with occasional trees, a rolling surface until about at St. Leonards I struck the Chiltern Hills. The whole in cultivation, or fine grass meadows with an occasional wood, evidently kept by the wealthy for beauty. The land in the hands of large owners most of whom lived most of the time elsewhere. Land here, you know, goes to the eldest son, and large estates accumulate. My ancestor Sylvester was a younger son, and I

am grateful to him that he started for America where his descendants had a fair chance at the world and its land, and were not hopelessly oppressed by the wealth of others. They all had the sense to emigrate somewhere, as the name is now gone, and wise it was in them.

"The country around there is not without relics much older. On one of the Chiltern Hills towards Oxford is the White Leaf Cross, the dirt being cut off so as to display a large cross of the Chalk Rag, as they call it, commemorating a victory of the Saxons over the Danes nearly a thousand years ago. The cross has been there ever since, for aught people know, and men, who hardly know why, clean it every year. My vicar at Cholesbury—Mr. Jester—something of an antiquary, showed me a deep circular ditch which extends a mile in circuit.

"Some thought it a Roman fortification; he, an ancient Briton. Then there are memorials of the civil wars, just after my ancestors left, they being too energetic to wait until arms remedied their wrongs.

"The place of grand old John Hampden, with its long lane nearly or quite a mile extending to the large rather plain Elizabethan brick and stone mansion, from the porter's lodge, whence the gallant old fellow rode down to London attended by four thousand neighbors to protect him, a volunteer guard against Royal dislike—well—they came to open arms—and the hero who first resisted 'ship' money was brought back from not far off, to be buried at his old home. There was much fighting in the pleasant vale of Aylesbury. Freedom was baptized in blood, not of Baldwins, for they were in America. Perhaps had they remained the blood would never have flowed as far down as my generation, for they were a sturdy set, quite inclined to get their rights, and to insist upon keeping them."

This letter was written from Edinburgh, from which place he made excursions to Abbotsford and other places, and closed with this characteristic revelation of the tender side of Judge Baldwin's nature: "Tell Mamie to kiss mamma and little brother for me; then tell her to stand before the mirror—and look at it—and walk up to it—and kiss the image there for papa."

From Edinburgh he went through Glasgow, the north of Ireland, and Dublin to take the steamer from Liverpool for home.

V. HIS AVOCATIONS.

His restoration to health, however, was but partial, so that for several years after his return he gave less attention than formerly to his law business, and resorted to occupations which would permit him to secure more out-door exercise. From 1875 to 1878 he was president of the Cleveland Board of Underwriters. Immediately after his return he devoted himself to the interests of the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company, returning gradually to his law practice.

The inherent activity of Judge Baldwin's nature and the liberal education with which he began his professional career, joined to natural tastes in that direction, have led him to do a large amount of effective work in promoting the general interests of science, education, and culture, both in Ohio and in the country at large. He has held the position of trustee in two colleges and in various other educational and literary enterprises.

Few have known of the effective aid he rendered in raising the money needed to effect the successful transfer of the Western Reserve College to Cleveland. Of this, Mrs. Frances E. Cutler, the widow of President Cutler of Adelbert College, during whose administration the college was removed from Hudson to Cleveland, writes to Mrs. Baldwin as follows:

"CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, February 11, 1895.

"I have just heard of your great affliction, and I cannot refrain from sending my love and sympathy to you and your daughter and son. My dear husband always had a great respect for your husband, and he has often spoken of the service he rendered him in helping to raise the money for the college grounds. He said there was no man who did more to secure the needed funds for that purpose, or who encouraged him more than he in the difficult task of removing the college to Cleveland."

But the outside enterprise to which he has given the most time and money, and in which he is best known, is the Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland, which, while Vice-President of the Cleveland Library Association, he planned in 1866, engaging the help of his associates, and with them organizing the Society in 1867. The list of names associated in this enterprise will bring up interesting memories to many now living. They were:

Charles C. Baldwin, M. B. Scott, Henry A. Smith, Joseph Perkins, Samuel Williamson, Charles Whittlesey, A. T. Goodman, Harvey Rice, John D. Crehore, George Mygatt, L. E. Holden, H. M. Chapin, C. T. Sherman, Samuel Starkweather, F. M. Backus, D. H. Beardsley, S. V. Willson, Joseph Ireland, G. C. F. Hayne, Jacob H. Smies, J. S. Kingsland, P. H. Babcock.

For many years Mr. Baldwin was the secretary of the Society, always acting in closest harmony with its president, Col. Whittlesey. On the Colonel's death, in 1886, Judge Baldwin was unanimously elected President of the Society upon the 10th of November, 1886. Of this the Cleveland Leader, the following day, says:

"The selection is one of eminent fitness. Judge Baldwin has been actively and intelligently connected with the Society

as secretary, trustee, and trustee of invested funds, since the formation of the Association. He is favorably known by historical, scientific, and antiquarian societies, both in this country and Europe. The Society may congratulate itself on the wise and efficient choice it has made, and especially will the intelligent public of this community approve its action."

From first to last Judge Baldwin was unceasing in his efforts to look after the interests of the Society. Before speaking more particularly of his work in this direction, we may well pause to consider the importance of the service which such a society performs for the world.

The noble purposes of the Western Reserve Historical Society are defined in the third Article of Incorporation, where it is expressly said that the corporation is not formed for profit, but "to discover, collect and preserve whatever relates to the history, biography, genealogy and antiquity of Ohio and the West; and of the people dwelling therein, including the physical history and condition of that State; to maintain a museum and library, and to extend knowledge upon the subjects mentioned by literary meetings, by publication and by other proper means." How much of this work has already been done is witnessed to by the valuable fireproof building in the center of the city, now in possession of the Society without incumbrance; by the vast collection of rare documents, of scarce periodicals and books, of the remains of the aborigines of the continent, of historical and artistic curiosities illustrative of the history of the past; and by the three volumes of original contributions by members and friends of the Society to the literature of the subject.

Few of us are aware how much all this means in labor and effort and how much it signifies as a testimony to the value of the higher interests of society. In the report of the committee on subscription for the purchase of this building it is

said, that "this is the first, or almost the first, instance in which the funds to purchase a permanent and substantial fireproof building for a historical society have been raised by popular subscription." Upon looking over the list we find that one hundred and fourteen different individuals gave for the purchase of this building sums ranging from five dollars up to ten thousand dollars each; forty-five of them contributing one hundred dollars each. The effort to unite so many people in such generous contributions for an ideal object to promote the interests of a corporation "which is formed not for profit," would seem beforehand to be visionary and chimerical. But Judge Baldwin's faith was equal to the occasion, and the realization even excels the hope which had been so long and persistently cherished.

Judge Baldwin believed that there is no greater need in this age of vast material accomplishments than to emphasize alongside of them the things which nurture patriotism, and art, and the love of knowledge for its own sake. He knew that patriotism has its roots in the past and is nurtured chiefly by local history. He felt that a nobler past is not to be found in all the world than that of the Western Reserve in Ohio. Every township has had its heroes, and the pioneers, one and all, had been heroic, and while clearing the forests, they out of their poverty built school houses at every cross road, and churches upon every hill top, and richly endowed academies and colleges. In times of war they became a bulwark of defense against both savage and civilized foes. In a thousand ways they laid well the foundations for the prosperity that now characterizes this portion of our commonwealth. More and more as time passes, so Judge Baldwin believed, we shall prize the ties which bind us to this early history, and the biography, genealogy, and antiquities of the Western Reserve will be increasingly valuable as years separate us

from the events themselves. The diligence with which Judge Baldwin and his coadjutors have collected the documents by aid of which these studies can be pursued, is worthy of all commendation, and no stone should be left unturned to complete the plans so generously laid and so effectively begun.

It was Judge Baldwin's aim to include in this work the study of the physical history and condition of the State. In scarcely any other place in the world can the interest of the general public be so easily enlisted in local geological facts of world-wide significance as among those who live upon the shores of the Great Lakes and upon the banks of our intricate river system. Nature and history are here most intimately connected. Whoever beholds the beauties of Euclid Avenue or glances at the strata of gravel exposed in laying the foundations of Cleveland's public buildings and private residences, or stumbles his foot against one of the Canadian boulders from which the generous giver has so strikingly adorned Gordon Park, or whoever studies the routes of the internal lines of commerce across the State, has forced upon his attention the intimate relations which here exist between a most interesting stage of geological development and the prosperity of our commonwealth. The breadth of Judge Baldwin's views in seizing hold upon all these salient points, and in bringing them to the notice of his fellow-citizens is worthy of all commendation, and will appear more and more as we attempt a more detailed account of his inner life.

Judge Baldwin's interest in this phase of historical investigations brought me into such intimate associations with him that I cannot refrain from speaking somewhat at length of our work together along these lines. It was in the summer of 1881 that I first met him, being introduced by Rev. Charles Terry Collins of blessed memory. Mr. Collins had entered heartily into my plans for continuing the survey of the glacial

boundary through Ohio, and the states farther west, and needed only to enlist the interest of Judge Baldwin to secure the co-operation necessary for the successful prosecution of the work. Quick as a flash Mr. Baldwin saw the historical bearing of studies relating to the deposits in which the oldest relics of man are found, and entered at once into hearty sympathy with our plans. The most of his vacation that summer was spent with me in the field in driving over two or three of the central counties of the State. Part of the time we were accompanied by our wives, part of the time by Prentiss Baldwin, then a lad of thirteen. On several subsequent summers Mr. Baldwin also joined me in the work, driving over extensive portions of Western Pennsylvania, and spending one entire summer with me in company with Mr. and Mrs. David Baldwin in studying the river deposits of Eastern Pennsylvania; while during one season we went together to the Sault Ste. Marie, examining for three hundred miles along the north shore of Lake Huron the region from which are derived the granitic boulders so abundant in Northern Ohio.

This work afforded him just the relaxation which he needed, since it was an agreeable change in occupation, and was not without a worthy purpose in view. But it was interesting to see how his specific historical line of investigations dominated him, even on these excursions. While driving through Holmes and Tuscarawas counties, the remembrance of the early Moravian settlers was ever fresh in his mind, and the marks of their occupation of the country were as eagerly sought after as were those of glacial man; while in Eastern Pennsylvania the attraction of the rich historical archives of the Moravians at Bethlehem proved overpowering, and we had to leave him for some days with the bishops and historians and interesting relics of that famous centre of missionary activity, from which proceeded the first settlers and explorers

of Ohio. A guideboard in Bethlehem pointing out to the early settlers the road to Ohio was an attraction to Judge Baldwin which could not be resisted.

And again while exploring the wilds to the north of Lake Huron and gliding in birchbark canoes up the Mattawa River one can never forget the enthusiasm aroused in Mr. Baldwin's mind by the historical associations of the region; for we were passing over the trail followed by the early French explorers and Jesuit missionaries, who in turn but followed the track which had been trod for ages by the American Indian. But that facility for concentrating his attention upon whatever was immediately before him displayed itself here, as everywhere else. From the historical associations he passed immediately, as occasion required, to the specific object of our expedition with amazing rapidity, and did more than his full share in collecting, labelling and packing for transportation the rock specimens from the original ledges which are now serving as a basis for the identification of the Canadian boulders found in Northern Ohio. A case in the Western Reserve Historical Library containing a number of his matched fragments and a number of specimens from Put-in-Bay Island awaiting identification, bears lasting testimony to the zest with which he prosecuted his vacation work.

The two summer vacations before his death were spent in studying and exploring the cliff dwellings in Colorado and New Mexico. During the first of these seasons he was accompanied by his wife and his son. During the second by his brother David, who all along fully shared with him in the interests of archæological investigations. The museum of the Historical Society will receive large and rich accessions as the result of this vacation work.

The evidences of Mr. Baldwin's activity outside of his professional career in what he would call his "avocations" are

abundant on every hand and of a very permanent character. Of these the most monumental is the Western Reserve Historical Society and the commodious building in which its treasures are preserved. Other Societies have not been slow to recognize his work.

In 1869, he was elected a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society of Boston, and in 1880 elected a corresponding member of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. He was also an honorary or corresponding member of the Minnesota State Historical Society, the Virginia Historical Society, the Society of Antiquity of Worcester, Mass., and others. He was one of the founders and trustees of the State Archæological Society of Ohio that made the exhibition at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. He was one of the original members of the American Bar Association, and was a life-member of the American Historical Association.

Mr. Baldwin had gathered one of the finest private libraries in Cleveland, if not the finest, and his collection of atlases and maps, old and rare, in print and in manuscript, was the most complete private collection in the world for illustrating the history of the West, the use of which he very freely gave to others. Among the works which have freely used Mr. Baldwin's maps and cited his writings, "Chicago Antiquities" is conspicuous by the number of beautiful engravings of the maps. A partial description of them, as collected in 1875, was published in the American Antiquarian, and republished in newspapers East and West.

His library is especially rich in early works in the French language relating to America, and in illustrated books of art. These latter appear not only in the library cases which adorn his library, but two large rooms in the attic of his residence were not sufficient to contain the overflow. There, in undis-

turbed quiet, he surrounded himself with a choice selection of the books most needed for the literary work which he had planned for completion in the indefinite future. Costly and rare books containing sketches and etchings by the best artists abound also on these shelves, while a remarkable collection of books and pamphlets on political economy and kindred sociological subjects bore witness to the strength of his frequently expressed desire to publish a popular volume on these subjects for the guidance of the general public.

There have been published from his pen some twenty-five or thirty addresses and magazine articles, among them Early Maps of Ohio and the West (the one on Indian Migrations being adopted with little change in Winsor's Critical History of America); an address at Youngstown on the "Geographical History of Ohio;" at Norwalk, on "Man in Ohio;" at Oberlin, on "Columbus;" and at Mansfield, on "Early Indian Migration in Ohio;" and a review of the "Margry Papers," published in Paris in the French language. He has been elected *causa honoris* a member of nine State or other historical societies, and in 1891 a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. But for the recognition and aid of Judge Baldwin, my own work on glacial antiquities would have come to an end with the survey of Pennsylvania; and it was largely through the advice and encouragement of Judge Baldwin that I was led to venture upon the publication of so elaborate and highly illustrated a work as "The Ice Age of North America."

In an appendix will be found a full list of publications, but here we will speak of one other.

In 1881 he published The Baldwin Genealogy, which with the Supplement issued in 1889 contained 1373 pages of matter, involving many years of the most painstaking care in preparation. This work, however, was far from being a bare statement of genealogical facts. It is really a history of the

accomplishments of this old and widely scattered family. The origin of the name, and the career of the Baldwins in England, are discussed from a knowledge of facts which could only be secured by a vast amount of original investigation. In 1882 he issued a companion volume of 241 pages on the genealogy of the Candee family to which his mother belonged. These volumes have the rare pre-eminence among their class of being so popular that their sale paid all the expenses of their preparation and publication, though, of course, no account is made of the enormous amount of time spent by the author, with whom it was altogether a labor of love.

In 1892 Mr. Baldwin received the degree of Doctor of Laws from his Alma Mater. Among the many who united in nominating him for this honor was David J. Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, who sent the following letter :

“ SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,

“ WASHINGTON, April 6, 1892.

“ To the Faculty of Wesleyan University.

“ Gentlemen :—Permit me to join with others in recommending the granting of an honorary LL.D. to Judge Charles C. Baldwin, of Cleveland, Ohio. I have known Judge Baldwin ever since college days. He is now the presiding judge of the Court of Appeals in Northern Ohio, and has a high rank as a lawyer and judge. He is a gentleman of high character, and especially loved and honored in the State in which he has made his home during his active life. He has won a name, too, outside of the law, by his researches into the early history of his State, both before and since its settlement by the whites. He is eminently worthy of any honor the University can confer upon him, and certainly a host of friends will be gratified by hearing that he has received a LL.D. from his Alma Mater.

“ Yours very truly,

“ DAVID J. BREWER.”

In religious conviction Judge Baldwin was a Christian, and by outward profession later in life a Presbyterian, though as appears evident from his Journal and letters his religious sentiments developed first among the Methodists, with whom his father was closely identified through all his life. For many years he was a member of the First Presbyterian Church of Cleveland, of which Rev. Dr. Goodrich and then Dr. Haydn were pastors. Owing to the convenience of its house of worship, he later transferred his membership to the 2nd Church, of which Dr. Pomeroy was pastor. While usually reticent concerning his religious feelings, he was by no means always so, and would at times speak freely of the well-grounded foundations on which he rested his hopes of immortality and his confidence in the supernatural claims of the Christian religion. As a student of Christian Evidences, I owe much to the instruction received from him in the incidental discussion of these subjects with which we occasionally occupied our spare hours during vacation work. He was able to give as satisfactory a reason for the religious faith which he cherished as for the carefully thought-out decisions which he so often rendered from the bench.

The extent to which the spirit of Christian service had permeated his character, and which has been so often referred to in what has been said concerning his professional career, came out very forcibly, I remember, in the following instance, of the significance of which he seemed utterly unconscious. We were at one time driving in Western Pennsylvania much engrossed in conversation when we passed some obstacle in the road, (I do not now remember just what) from which horses following us would be in danger of suffering injury. After we were a long ways past it, his thoughts recurred to the hazard connected with it, and nothing would satisfy him but that we should turn back and remove the dangerous object. Thus

it was always apparent that his thoughts were never limited by the legal rights of man or beast, but were always moving in that high plane of benevolence which rejoiced in any service which he could render to sentient being. With the poet Cowper, he would not enter on his list of friends

"The man
Who needlessly sets foot upon a worm."

But as so often is the case, death claimed its own at an unexpected, and what seemed to the eye of sense an inopportune time. Judge Baldwin was about to enter upon his third term of service on the bench of the Circuit Court when he was to be relieved from the extra burden which fell upon him as presiding judge, so that he was looking forward to the possession of more leisure than he had heretofore had for the prosecution of historical studies, when a sudden cold brought on an acute and painful inflammation which so wasted his strength that after a week his physical frame gave way. The last days of suffering add both poignancy to our grief and expressiveness to the couplet which he often said would be his choice for an inscription upon his tomb:

"After life's fitful fever
He sleeps well."

We cannot, however, admit that his life's work was unfinished, unless we look upon every noble effort in the world as unfinished. The work which he had already accomplished was of a most substantial character, and its monuments are enduring. But it is the fate of all men who plan largely to be called from earth before their plans are realized. In Judge Baldwin's case his affairs were so ordered that others could reap where he had sown, so that there should be as little loss as possible when he was taken away.

The end came on Saturday, February 2d, 1895. The funeral services were held at his residence on the morning of

the 5th, conducted by his personal friend and former pastor Rev. Dr. H. C. Haydn. The pall bearers were H. Clark Ford, J. D. Cox, Jr., Peter Hitchcock, J. H. McBride, Lee McBride, Stiles Curtiss, Joseph Colwell and Henry C. Ranney. The honorary pall bearers were Judges John C. Hale and William H. Upson, Mr. E. R. Perkins and Professor G. F. Wright. These with his family friends, the members of the Bar and of the Western Reserve Historical Society, and many others, followed the bier to see it deposited near his old friend and law partner, Mr. S. B. Prentiss, in Lake View Cemetery. There the dust returns to dust, while his spirit goes to Him who gave it, and his good works remain to help and bless mankind.

APPENDIX I.

List of Tracts by C. C. Baldwin, published by the Western Reserve Historical Society, with other publications.

No. 23.—October, 1874.

Relics of the Mound Builders.

No. 25.—April, 1875.

Early Maps of Ohio and the West.

No. 27.—July, 1875.

Historical and Pioneer Societies in Ohio.

No. 34.—November, 1876.

Review of the First Volume of the Margry Papers.

No. 35.—December, 1876.

A Centennial Law Suit.

No. 40.—December, 1868.

The Iroquois in Ohio.

No. 47.—September, 1878.

Early Indian Migration in Ohio.

No. 50.—

Indian Narrative, by Judge Hugh Welch, of Green Spring, Seneca and Sandusky Counties, Ohio.

No. 63.—

Geographical History of Ohio.

No. 68.—

Memorial of Col. Charles Whittlesey.

No. 78.—June, 1891.

The New Methods in History.

No. 80.—June, 1890.

History of Man in Ohio. A Panorama.

GENEALOGICAL WORKS.

Baldwin Genealogy, from 1500 to 1881, published at Cleveland, O., 1881; pp. 970.

Baldwin Genealogy, Supplement, Cleveland, O, 1889; pp. 390, including the Bryan family, pp. 22.

Caudee Genealogy, Cleveland, O., 1882; pp. 240, including the following families: Allyn, pp. 20; Catlin, pp. 8; Cooke, pp. 10; Mallery, pp. 8; Newell, pp. 6; Norton, pp. 9; Pynchon, pp. 9; Wadsworth, pp. 10.

Rev. John Bower, from W. C. Sharpe's History of Seymour, Conn., 1879.

Alsap and Harlakenden, New England Historical and Genealogical Register, October, 1892.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

History of Man in Ohio, address at Norwalk, Ohio, June 25th, 1890.

The Study of Ohio, *Cleveland Leader*, September 9th, 1891.

Bethlehem and Ohio History, *Cleveland Leader*, August 15th, 1892.

Address, Columbus Day, October 21st, 1892, to the students of Oberlin College, *Cleveland Leader*, October 23d, 1892.

Review Extraordinary of "Man and the Glacial Period," printed in March, 1893.

Report to Committee on Uniform State Laws, August, 1893.

Ohio as a Field for History, address to Washington County Pioneers, at Marietta, on April 7th, 1894. Cleveland, 1894.

Samuel F. Vinton and the Southern Boundary of Ohio, *Western Reserve Law Journal*, March, 1895.

OPINIONS BY JUDGE BALDWIN IN THE OHIO CIRCUIT COURT REPORTS.

Volume 1. Page 355, John Nye vs. The State of Ohio.

Volume 2. Page 10, Caldwell vs. Trustees.

305, L. S. & M. S. R. R. vs. Scofield, Shurmer & Teagle.

330, Harland vs. Newcombe.

510, State ex rel. vs. Board of Education.

- Volume 3. Page 263, Josephine Ammon vs. Johnson.
419, Kaderabek vs. Kaderabek.
413, Hait vs. Murray.
Morgan vs. Bartlette.
Donnegan vs. Armour.
Keith vs. Moore.
Janes vs. Hoehn.
Gordon vs. Walton.
459, Wilbur vs. Bingham & Phelps.
529, Hinman vs. Ryan.
Perry Prentiss vs. Cody.
- Volume 4. Page 7, Bitely vs. Doan.
160, Breck vs. State.
- Volume 5. Page 33, Wade vs. Kimberley.
93, State vs. Otto Leuth.
- Volume 6. Page 137, Hall vs. Scottish Rite Knights Templar.
- Volume 7. Page 7, Stone vs. Doster.
108, Kessler vs. Letts.
355, United Fireman's Ins. Co. vs. Kukral.
375, Yeare vs. Cain.
378, Bernsdorf & Saylor vs. Hardway.
442, Standard Oil Co. vs. Valley Railway Co.
- Volume 8. Page 25, State ex rel. vs. Price.
112, Manufacturers' Fire Association vs. Lynch-
burg Drug Mills.
145, Cope et al. vs. Farmer.
157, Glidden vs. Joy Varnish Co., vs. Joy.
160, Estate of Alfred Dunham.
214, Altschul vs. State.
220, L. S. & M. S. Ry. vs. State,
477, Walworth vs. Village of Collinwood.
671, Lake Shore Foundry vs. The City.
674, Rainey vs. Jefferson Iron Works.
- Volume 9. Page 26, State ex rel. vs. Maxfield.
46, Queen Insurance Co. vs. Leonard.
118, Clarke vs. The City.

- Volume 9. Page 141, Krinke vs. Parish.
201, Valley R. R. Co. vs. Roos Admr.
Volume 11. Page 238, Wilmot vs. Lyon.

APPENDIX II.

Some time in 1882, Judge Baldwin came across, in some paper, the following Latin poem, whose pathos and beauty greatly impressed him, and as it embodies sentiments and expresses convictions strong in his mind, it received much of his attention, and is reproduced here to show, as it may, the course of his thought on a subject of common interest.

Cursus vitae bene actus,
Opus vitae omne factum,
Laurus vitae acquisita,
Nunc venit quies.

Res adversae preterlapsae,
Res tentantes non inventae,
Navus litus jam attingens,
Nunc venit quies.

Cedit nunc fides vivendo,
Dies nocti supervenit,
Lux a Jesu impertitur,
Nunc venit quies.

Breve tempus nos manemus,
Sed aut jam aut saltem sero,
Portam nobis mors recludet,
Tunc venit quies.

Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Levi F. Bauder and Mr. E. R. Perkins, prepared a metrical translation into English, the first stanza of which was inscribed on the Garfield dais. Though the versification was the work of Mr. Bauder, Judge Baldwin took an active part in the translation, and had the satisfaction of finding that some of the words chosen by him corresponded exactly with the original English which was discovered afterwards. The translation is as follows:

Life's race well run,
 Life's work well done,
 Life's crown well won,
 Now comes rest.

All troubles o'er,
 We strive no more,
 Ship touching shore,
 Now comes rest.

Faith yields to sight,
 Day conquers night,
 From Christ comes light,
 Now comes rest.

Brief time we wait,
 For soon or late
 Death swings the gate,
 Then comes rest.

Much added interest in these lines was occasioned when it was ascertained that the Latin was not original but a translation from English. The original writer was Dr. Edward H. Parker, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y. The translation into Latin was by Professor Wm. H. Crosby. It is not surprising that the close similarity of the original English version and the English translation, greatly interested one with Judge Baldwin's instincts of historical investigation. We therefore feel warranted in copying the original from the account prepared by him.

Life's race well run,
 Life's work all done,
 Life's victory won;
 Now cometh rest.

Sorrows are o'er,
 Trials no more,
 Ship reacheth shore;
 Now cometh rest.

Faith yields to sight,
 Day follows night,
 Jesus gives light;
 Now cometh rest.

We awhile wait,
 But, soon or late,
 Death ope's the gate;
 Then cometh rest.

TRACT NO. 89, IN VOL. IV.
WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

JOURNAL
OF
MICHAEL WALTERS,
A MEMBER OF THE
EXPEDITION AGAINST SANDUSKY
IN THE YEAR 1782.

EDITED BY J. P. MACLEAN.

1899.

sign of their going back from battle
our people there were ^{the} ~~the~~ Indians
waylaying the road who took the adv-
-antage of us and jumped up on
each side of us two of us tried to
give them battle but the other ran
away when we found he was gone
we ran and they caught us ~~they~~
they caught a wounded man who
was left behind by accident they
took him a long till night and
next morning they killed him and
took out his heart which looked
very shocking to us the Indians
took us and the next morning we
came up with Crofted and six men
We laid there but a few minutes
when we were forced to go off and
leave them we had no liberty to
speak to him they would not

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JOURNAL
OF
MICHAEL WALTERS,

A Member of the Expedition against Sandusky, Commanded by
Colonel William Crawford, in 1782.

EDITED BY J. P. MACLEAN.

The Revolutionary War was practically brought to a close by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 19, 1781. On March 4, 1782, the British House of Commons addressed the king in favor of peace; and also reported a bill in consequence thereof enabling that personage to conclude a peace with the revolted colonies of North America. Hostilities were soon at an end, except in the west, where the murderous forays of the savages, abetted and stimulated by British agents, were continued with undiminished fury. The tomahawk and scalping knife of the ruthless savage kept the borderers in a perpetual state of feverish excitement and anxiety.

The settlers of the counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia bordering on the Ohio were of the opinion that unless an expedition was sent against the principal Indian towns these settlements would continue to suffer from the inroads of the savages and that, notwithstanding previous failures, a volunteer corps could be organized against Sandusky of such magnitude as would insure success.

In arranging the volunteer force it was stipulated that the members should select their own officers, and that each one should receive a credit for two full tours of military duty and fully equip himself for the expedition. The point of rendezvous was fixed at Mingo Bottom, located on the west or Indian side of the Ohio River, about forty miles by land below Pittsburgh, and the time appointed was May 20, 1782. Colonel William Crawford was elected commander, which he reluctantly accepted.

The army, consisting of 482 men, early on the morning of May 25th, took up its line of march north of Williamson's trail, and arrived at the ruins of the Moravian towns on the fourth day of their march. On June 4th, the army reached the Moravian village on the Sandusky, but found it deserted. Here many of the men desired to abandon the expedition and return to their homes, but a council of the officers decided to advance another day in the direction of Sandusky, some forty miles distant. They had not proceeded far when the advance was suddenly assaulted by a large force of Indians concealed in the grass. The battle lasted without cessation until dark. The next day another council of the officers was held, and as the Indians were constantly increasing it was determined to retreat during the following night. After dark the volunteers commenced their retreat; but many of the men detached themselves from the main body and attempted to escape, thinking the Indians would follow the army. The Indians pursued the stragglers and either killed or made prisoners of more than a hundred of them. Among those taken was Colonel Crawford, who had been separated from the army during the retreat by lingering behind in anxiety for his son and son-in-law, whom he supposed were yet in the rear. Colonel Crawford was cruelly tortured to death on June 11th by the

Delawares. It is believed that Captain Matthew Elliott, in the British service, was present. Dr. John Knight, taken prisoner with Colonel Crawford, and who was an involuntary witness of the death of his commander, stated that he saw "a person there who was dressed and appeared like a British officer." Most of the prisoners were tomahawked with little ado.

It was evidently the intention of the British that all the American prisoners should be put to death, for a warrior who had been counseling with De Peyster, commander at Detroit, brought "a speech" from Detroit which had long been expected. It was a belt of wampum, and began with the address: "My children," and inquired why the Indians continued to take prisoners. "Take no more prisoners, my children, of any sort — man, woman, or child."

MICHAEL WALTERS' MS.

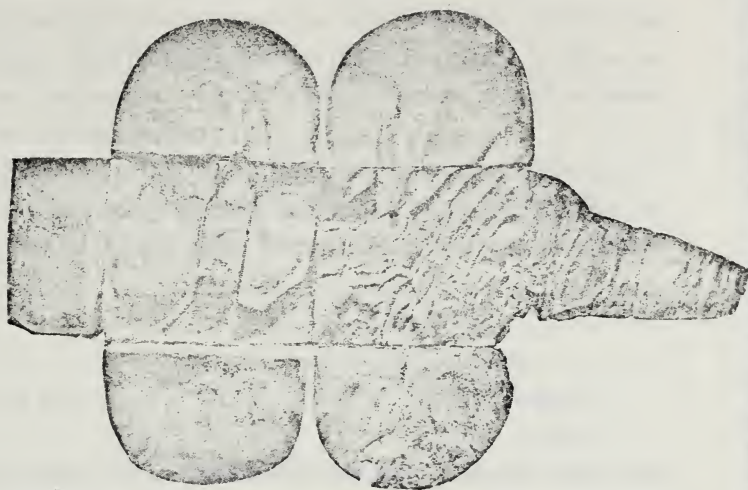
On October 13, 1897, whilst stopping at Straughn, Ind., I was invited by Rev. C. W. Hoeffler to take a ride into the country. We stopped at the residence of James Walters. During the conversation it was mentioned that the journal of Michael Walters was in the house, and a few minutes later was handed to me. I saw at once that it was a valuable MS., and had no difficulty in persuading Mr. Walters to allow it to be permanently deposited among the archives of an Ohio Historical Society. Soon after his grandson, A. Hood, came in and at once demurred to the gift, on the grounds that the said MS. had been promised to him by his grandfather.

The MS. had been in the Walters family ever since it was written. Michael gave it to his son William, who in turn gave it to his son James, and the latter placed it in my possession. The MS. is a fragment, composed of nine leaves; five

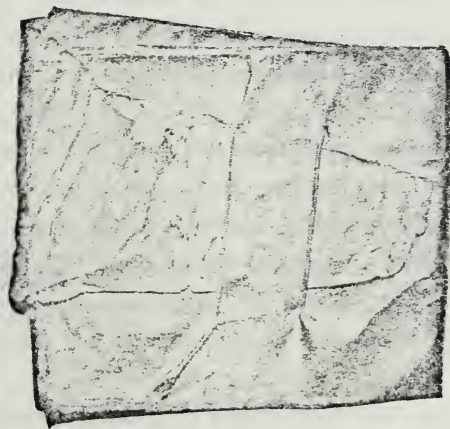
of these are written on both sides and one is blank. Eight pages are written in full and three only in part. The leaves are six inches long by three and one-half in width. It appears at one time to have been a memorandum book carried in the pocket. The leaves have been detached the one from the other and afterwards sewed together regardless of consecutive order or uniformity of position. As the exposed pages were not protected by blank ones they are considerably worn and, in places, entirely gone. At a later period some one with a heavy hand has written over the first page, which makes it somewhat difficult to decipher. The penmanship is excellent. No regular observance for capital letters has been followed and not a single punctuation mark given. I have deemed it best to follow the MS. exactly. The propriety of correcting the text is a very doubtful one.

MICHAEL WALTERS.

It is not known whether or not Michael Walters was born in Germany or Pennsylvania. His grandson James is disposed to think the former was his nativity, but early settled in what is now Fayette Co., Pa., where he lived until his death. He was born July 14, 1760, and died August 21, 1818. His wife, Susannah, was born in 1766 and died November 12, 1809. His children are given as follows: William, born September 10, 1785; James, born May 17, 1788; Michael, born February 14, 1790; Catharine, born September 28, 1793; Conrad, born November 23, 1795; Susannah, born June 23, 1798, and John, born May 27, 1799. The son William married Permelia Hicks, moved to Wilmington, O., and from there to Henry County, Ind., where he died, April, 1857. His son James was born in Wilmington, O., January 6, 1825, and lives on his farm near Straughn, Ind.



POCKET-BOOK EXTENDED.



POCKET-BOOK FOLDED.

At the time Michael Walters enlisted in the ill-fated expedition of Colonel Crawford he was a little less than twenty-two years of age. As the following certificate appears to show, he was in the company of Captain John Beeson, which appears among the Walters papers:

"I Do hereby Cortify that Michael Walters Served a tour of Duty on the Sandusky Expedition in the Year Eighty two for which he was promised to be Excused for two tours at another time.

Certified Pr.

Me

May 27th 1791.

John Beeson "

Capt " 1

In the retreat from Sandusky Michael Walters was taken prisoner, carried to Mackinac, thence to Detroit, and finally home by the way of Montreal and Ticonderoga. During his captivity among the Indians he was well treated. They did not even take his gun away from him, but this he retained and it is now in the possession of Peter Beabout, who lives near Frankfort, Ind. It is a flint lock rifle.

The tradition in the family is that Michael was a prisoner for two years when he was finally exchanged for an Indian prisoner. The part of the journal which would throw light on this point of the narrative is missing. Doubtless he was not a prisoner any longer than he could readily have been sent forward after the definite treaty of peace had been proclaimed.

While a prisoner he made a pocketbook out of the skin of some animal, which is fourteen inches in length, greatest breadth nine inches, has four flaps and folds into a space of four inches in length and breadth. This is still in an excellent state of preservation. (See cuts.)

MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL.

" Michael Walters Journal from the time he left home to go this Indian Expedition

" I left home the 18th of may 1782 and Came to the Ohio the 21st of may which we Crossed and our officers holding a Council three days on account of the small number of men we had and to wait for the Comeing of more at length they Concluded to go with the number of men we had and left the mingo Bottom² y^l." 25th of may we steered Northwest for the Indian Town with 482 men when we Came to the old Dellaway⁴ Town where we caught an Indian horse⁶ we marched 2⁶ miles farther to another Town which they evacuated and Burnt it Down where our spies shot at 2 Indians⁷ but did not make out whether they x x x x⁸ or no we marched 2 Days further where some of our Boys shot at 4⁹ more which made them run as fast as Ever they Did soon after this we Came to a trace of about fifty warriars but the getting notice of us soon Informed the rest of our Comeing who put themselves in Rediness to meet us we seen their spies In several Places when we Came to within a Days march of their Towns we heard 6 Cannons¹⁰ fire that night next Day we met them within four miles of their Towns Comeing holloing as loud as they Could trying to Break our lines but our officers mannaged so well that they Could not Break them the Battle was on the fourth of June about two o Clock We formed our x x x x¹¹ Clever a manner that they could not Break our lines tho they often attempted to Do it we forced them to a retreat Across a Big Glade¹² and there they stopt to give us Battle we kept up the fireing on both sides till Dark the Indians were a piece off of our Camps that night And we kept our selves in order till the morning we kept fireing at one another that day till night the Indians and Rangers¹³ thought to break our lines that Even-

ing and Perraded themselves in the Glades the attempted to Come a piece but wer forced to go back as fast as they Come they asked us to give up and that there should not a man of us be hurt but our people told them we were able for them And scorned to give up to slaves and Indians at length our people getting Scarce of Amunition¹⁴ thought proper to go off that night as Quiet as Possible the men got scattered through other and left some on the lines I believe Every one took his own road¹⁵ the Indians took this advantage of our men and Catch'd Coll.¹¹ Craford and six more and James Collins Cristofer Colman¹⁶ and my self were Unfortunaty left be hind we kept the woods from the road for fear of their Comeing up with us we went fifty miles and then thought to take the road a piece to see if the Indians all Came back we saw great sign of their going back from following our people there were Eight Indians waylaying the road who took the advantage of us and jumpt up on Each side of us two of us tried to give them Battle but the other ran away when we found he was gone we ran and they Catched us they Catched a wounded man who was left behind by Accident they took him along till night and next morning the kill'd him and took out his heart which looked very shocking to us the Gibaways¹⁷ took us and the next morning we Come up with Craford and six men We staid there but a few minutes when we were forced to go off and leave them we had no liberty to speak to him they would not Allow us any privilage they took us to st. Dusky we knew not our Doom tho these Indians seemed as Careful of us as possible and we saw some Rangers there and they made us Come into their Camps and told us we ought to be hanged for fighting against king George we staid there all night in a little hut out side of the Town and they started before Day with us took us within sight of Big Sandusky and

were so Careful of us that they took us four or five miles from the Town for fear of their killing us whilst some of them went to the Town and got a Battoe and then we went by water to Detroit tho we did not stop there they passed by Detroit and steerd up the river for mishalmackinnaw where the Gave us up to the Governor or Commander in chief we got there the 18th of June and staid there three months and were sent back in a vessel to Detroit we staid here about a week and were ordered Down the river Saint laurence we started from Detroit the 30th of september on board the hope and ariv'd at fort Erie the 2d of October from thence to fort Slusher at the end of the Carrying Place where we saw Niagara Falls at a Distance their height is 360 feet We went from this place to Niagara where we arrived the 7th of October where we staid to the 12th when we had orders to march for Carleton Isleand we went on Board the sinaca Brig of War and Crossed lake Ontera we got to Carleton Isleand the 18th and was put on board a Guard ship where we remained to the 24th where We got On Board some Battoes to go down the river st. laurence for the next fort we Crossed very swift water the 26th Called the long sue which was very Dangerous but like other Dificulties we got through with this we Came to Sway Gotsey that night and staid there till morning we then started on our journey and Came by a small Isle where they told us there was a surprising snake who kept in an old Bumb-proof the are afraid of that snake and says it is 30 feet long and thick accordingly the next Day we Came to Courte Delak right opposite of which is an Isleand Called rebel Isleand where they keep prisoners from this place we started for fort lissaaen where we got to the 27 and arived at Montreal the 28 of October and were put in a jail or provo."

Here the narrative part of the MS. ends and that near the

middle of the page. The next is a table of distances showing the places he passed through with accompanying number of miles:

"Distance of the Road from the mingo Bottom to to A^W.

	Miles.
to Detroit	300
to Mackinknaw	360
back to Detroit	360
to fort Erie	280
to fort Slusher	018
to Niagara	018
to Carleton Isleand	280
to Sway Gotsey	090
to Courtenes Delak	090
to lissaen	040
to Montreal	00
to st. Johns	080
to the Islereard	0 18
to ponit afair	0 18
to Crown point	082
to Ticonderoga	0 18
to Skainesborough	0 18
to fort Ann	01 18
to fort Edward	010
to Siratoga	014
to Albaney	036
to New Burgh	100
to East town	098
to Allen Town	018*
to Beddon	032*
to harrisb ferry	052†
to home from East town	340

2645

†From home till home 2706."

*Black heavy lines have been purposely drawn through these lines. Though the ink is darker than the rest, it was probably the work of the writer.

† This line is written in another hand and with lighter colored ink.

NOTES TO MICHAEL WALTERS' MS.

¹ Captain John Beeson was from that part of Westmoreland which soon after became Fayette County, Pa. Beesontown — afterwards Uniontown — was named in honor of him. The Captains, as well as all other officers, were elected at Mingo Bottom. The volunteers were distributed into eighteen companies and each company chose its captain by vote. There were about twenty-six to the company, which in the end proved to be a wise measure.

² Mingo Bottom is a rich plateau, on the immediate bank of the Ohio River, about two and one-half miles below the city of Steubenville, and extends south to a small affluent of the Ohio, known as Cross creek. Opposite the upper end of this plateau is Mingo Island. The spot chosen for the volunteers to assemble is still a noted locality.

³ An abbreviation for "early."

⁴ Means Delaware town. The army was now at the Moravian towns. The Moravian or Christian Indians were nearly all of the Delaware nation, and were originally from the Susquehanna River. They removed to the Tuscarawas River in 1772. Their towns, Schönbrunn, Gnadenhütten and Salem, were all within ten miles of New Philadelphia. The land had been set apart for them by the Delawares. The principal Delaware town, at that time, was near the present site of New Comerstown. The Moravian villages were sacked and the inhabitants carried to the banks of the Sandusky by the Wyandotts, led by British officers, during the month of September, 1781. On account of the want of sufficient food, during the month of February, 1782, about one hundred and fifty of the Christian Indians, including men, women and children, returned to their homes on the Muskingum, in order to gather the corn that had been left in the fields. In March following, Col. David Williamson, with a band of 90 white men, fell upon these peaceable Indians, at Gnadenhütten, and in cold blood murdered 62 adults and 34 children. The remaining Indians who were at Schönbrunn took to flight and ran through the woods.

⁵ This is the only notice of a horse being caught on the expedition. Before reaching the Moravian towns some of the horses gave out, and their riders were sent back to Mingo Bottom.

⁶ As this figure is blurred it may be intended for the figure "8."

⁷ The army was now encamped at New Schönbrunn, which had been built in 1779, and burned by Williamson. Up to this time Crawford

186 + 187

thought his movements were unknown to the enemy, but in fact he had been carefully watched ever since he started on his march.

⁸ A piece here torn out of the MS., thus losing two words, which may be "were hit."

⁹ No other MS. notices this fact. It is, however, probable that other Indians were also seen, and it was not thought necessary to mention it.

¹⁰ I do not recall that any other person records this fact.

¹¹ MS. torn away. Probably three words missing, which may be "lines in so."

¹² The battle of the 4th of June was on Sandusky Plains, in and around a grove which was afterwards known as "Battle Island."

¹³ There is abundant evidence that an armed body of British assisted their dusky allies on this occasion. On the afternoon of the 5th, the quick eye of a sentinel caught sight of British Rangers mounted, rapidly approaching, partly to the left and in the rear of the Wyandotts. Whites had been previously seen among the Indians. No witness was more capable than Michael Walters. He not only heard the conversation between the opposing forces, but having afterwards been a prisoner, had excellent facilities for knowing whereof he recorded.

¹⁴ The first day of the battle was favorable to the Americans, and as it continued from two o'clock in the afternoon until dark, or a period of six hours, it is not surprising that the ammunition should have been well spent. The desultory firing throughout the next day would also lessen the supply. This was not the only cause for a retreat. The enemy were constantly receiving reinforcements, among which were two hundred Shawanese. The enemy greatly outnumbered the force of Crawford.

¹⁵ About three-fourths of the army retreated in a body. It would have been well if the rest had been of the same mind.

¹⁶ I have no further information concerning James Collins and Christopher Colman. It is probable they also belonged to Capt. Beeson's company, and were with Walters during his captivity, and returned with him.

¹⁷ This is the only account of the Ojibways being in the engagement. The Indians principally engaged in the battle were Delawares, Wyandotts and Shawanese. As we notice later on the eight Ojibways concealed their prisoners it is more than probable that they were the only ones of their tribe present. As a prisoner always belonged to the tribe that captured him, and was at its disposal, it is probable that the Ojibways present were not recognized as distinctive participants in the battle.

¹⁸ Remaining figures obliterated.

TRACT No. 90, IN Vol. IV.
WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

THE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTION
OF THE
WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By J. P. MACLEAN.

PUBLISHED BY
A GENTLEMAN OF THE SOCIETY.

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY.
CLEVELAND, O.

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Gay's Society, Cleveland, O. Sept. 10, 1900

INTRODUCTION.

The Western Reserve Historical Society was organized for the purpose of discovering, collecting and preserving whatever relates to the history, biography, genealogy and antiquities of Ohio and the West. In order to awaken and keep alive an interest, as well as to carry out the expressed purpose of its charter, many papers, modestly called Tracts, have been published, from time to time, by the Society, on history and archaeology. No branch of the field as thus declared to be preoccupied has been neglected. Manuscripts and published memoirs have been sought for and placed on the shelves in order that the student might be assisted in his researches. Exclusive of Government publications and pamphlets, the bound volumes in the library amount to three hundred and twenty-seven volumes on anthropology, a large percentage of which is devoted to American Indians and American archaeology.

The growth of that part of the Museum devoted to archaeology has been commensurate with the progress of the library. The means at the disposal of the Society have been judiciously applied and every exertion used to collect such relics as would add to the knowledge of the past. In this object the labor has not been restricted to Ohio, or even to North America.

In many respects the Society has been exceedingly fortunate. From its inception there have been men closely identified with it who were deeply interested in all the objects for which it had been instituted, and especially in anthropology. Colonel Charles

Whittlesey, its first President, was second to no man in American archaeology. Judge Charles C. Baldwin, long its efficient Secretary and its second President, was one of the most industrious collectors of prehistoric relics in America, as well as being thoroughly versed in the science. Under the genius of these two collaborators the archaeological cabinet has grown to its present proportions. The interest thus displayed aroused a like disposition in others; and their donations to the Museum were rapidly supplemented by other collectors.

The various collections are kept separate, that each donor may have due credit. His name appears with his gifts. All are exhibited in cases made for the purpose, and the display is so arranged as to be readily accessible to the general public.

MODERN SPECIMENS.

Pre-historic people are judged by such tribes, now living, who arm themselves with the same class of weapons and possess similar domestic utensils. Upon the supposition that the pre-historic remains of America belong to one or more branches of the American family, and not an exotic race, efforts, more or less successful, have been made to obtain specimens of the arts of aborigines still in existence. While this department is yet in its infancy, yet it numbers a bark canoe from Lake Superior, with two very small ones of the same material, an Eskimo shirt made of the intestines of the seal, with dolls, playhouse, sled and kayak for the children; snow-shoes, large and diminutive; twenty-five hafted arrows, all having points made of hoop-iron, save one of obsidian and one of bluish chert. Some of these points are poisoned; a rudely executed Sioux flute, two pony whips; cloth made of birch bark by the Chinooks; child's moccasins; six baskets ornamented; bead work; wampum given to Rev. Joseph

Badger in 1806; Modoc seal-faced cap studded with circular bead work; horse hair crest taken from an Indian during the massacre in Minnesota in 1863; bullet mould made of catlinite and used by a chief in 1705; King Phillip's war club, made out of wood and elaborately carved, 1665; an elaborately carved wooden pipe given by Paqua, a Missouga Indian, to Gen. Moses Cleaveland, July 6, 1795. Other pipes will be mentioned under their proper treatment.

PLASTER MODELS AND CASTS.

When an original relic cannot be obtained the next best thing is to secure either a model or else a cast of the same. The Rio San Juan country has opened up the stone structures of a lost people, known as the Cliff-Dwellers. Far up the sides of the canons are the remains of human habitations. The following models of these structures are on the floor of the Museum: Ruin in the Valley of Rio De-Chelly, Arizona, drawn to a scale of 1 to 36; two Cave Towns, same locality, each drawn to a scale of 1 to 72; Ruins canon of Rio Mancos, Colorado, scale 1 to 24; Cliff Fortress, Beaver Creek, Arizona, scale 1 to 60; Tower in southwest Colorado, scale 1 to 24, and Montezuma's Well, in Arizona. These models are from those made by geologists connected with Hayden's survey of the territories.

On Kelley's Island are two famous rocks. One is an Indian inscription or pictograph and the other has quite a number of circular depressions. Both have been carefully modeled by Dr. E. Sterling and delivered by him to the Society.

The Smithsonian Institution has made casts of the rarer specimens of aboriginal relics, which it has presented to the Museum, consisting of different forms of axes, hatchets, spear-heads, swords, tablets, hoes, spades, pipes, ceremonial stones, discoids,

rolling-pins, vessels, and the Cincinnati Tablet. Besides these other forms have been given by different individuals. A fine set of moulds for making most of these is owned by the Society, presented by Dr. Sterling.

Of interest to the observers and students are the Chaldean Flood Tablet, the Rosetta Stone, the Neanderthal Skull, with ideal Restoration of the Neanderthal Man; besides a cast of a Dial of fine grained sandstone found at Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico, in 1864. To these must also be added copies in metal of four bronze dirks and three medals found at a considerable depth while digging a well in Surrey county, England, the originals of which are owned by Dr. A. C. Buell.

However interesting and valuable may be these relics, no attempt will here be given either to describe or illustrate them. Probably most of them have already been described in one or more publications.

CABINETS.

Reference has already been made to the cabinets that have been donated to the Society. These should have more than a passing notice. These cabinets should be classed into the Major and Minor collections, the difference being in the number of specimens.

WHITTLESEY COLLECTION.

During the early history of the Society, and while the property was still under the immediate care of Colonel Charles Whittlesey, the quarters were cramped, and being forced to undergo many rearrangements, as well as removals, some of the relics, perhaps only a small percentage, became detached from their proper positions, and in other instances labels became lost, in so much so that at this time it would be impossible to designate all that were directly donated by Colonel Whittlesey. Those that have been

set aside as strictly his collection, save in five instances, are wholly without labels. It is thus impossible to determine which are from the mounds or the surface finds. It is possible and even probable that some of the minor collections had in the first place been donated to him, and with care he placed the name of the party on the specimen or the card, where the same still remains. What is distinctively known as the Whittlesey Collection embraces 475 chert or flint implements, representing all the various shapes from the delicately minute arrow point to a lance head twelve inches in length. Owing to the many varieties and the perfect condition of these specimens, great care must have been exercised in their selection. To these must be added four copper beads, a stone maul, a wooden shovel, to be treated farther along, and a plate of mica.

C. C. BALDWIN COLLECTION.

The collection presented by Judge C. C. Baldwin is considered, for its size, to be one of the most choice in America. On this account it was selected as a representative for the New Orleans Exposition. Nearly every specimen is a typical one; and with but very few exceptions every specimen is marked and a record made, so that the place of discovery is known. The specimens have been selected from a wide range of territory, embracing Monroe county, New York; Butler, Carroll, Cuyahoga, Geauga and Lake counties, Ohio; Posey and Vanderburg counties, Indiana; Pulaski, Union and White counties, Illinois; Mississippi county, Missouri and Obion county, Tennessee. The collection may be thus enumerated: 6 copper implements, 6 discoids, 4 cup-stones, 14 pipes, 51 perforated slates, 5 unperforated slates, 2 images, 2 quartz ornaments, 5 plumbstones, 2 polishers, 1 cone, 3 tubes, 4 slate balls, 7 hematites, 37 hatchets, 1 gouge, 1 adze, 5

bark peelers, 2 chisels, 13 hoes, 13 spades, 57 axes, 17 pestles, 2 rolling pins, 34 vessels of pottery, 309 arrow and spear-heads, 635 shell beads or wampum and 5 miscellaneous. The spades, when struck by a small wooden mallet, give out a clear, distinct note. It would be an easy matter to arrange them in such a manner as to make a musical instrument upon which any tune could be played.

D. C. BALDWIN COLLECTION.

Hon. David C. Baldwin has proved himself to be an ideal collector. The cabinet donated by him is not only fine and elaborate, but he has carefully preserved the history of each specimen, naming place and from whom received; all of which is preserved in a book devoted to that purpose. The bulk of the collection is from Lorain county, Ohio, principally from the Shelter Cave and Spaulding Fort, both of which are near Elyria. On account of the circumscribed territory to which these specimens belong it becomes of immense value in the study of the subject. The value is enhanced by the addition of 10 human skulls, besides fragments of human crania, and the remains of animals. The importance of the collection is made more prominent by additions from Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, New Mexico, North Carolina, Tennessee, England, France, Switzerland and the South Sea Islands. Besides the remains of man in America, the palaeoliths of England, and the neoliths of Switzerland may here be studied.

Passing over the innumerable fragments of pottery and the various bones of both man and animals, which fill several drawers, there are of implements 243 bone, 17 pipes, 4 tubes, 49 perforated and 10 unperforated slates, 2 images, 3 copper, 1,390 chert or flint, 10 colorless quartz, 7 obsidian, 8 vessels, 36 cupstones, 16 balls, 27 axes, 100 hatchets, 32 hammers, 8 bark peelers, 2 rolling pins, 2 pestles and 115 beads or wampum. This

collection is constantly being added to by Mr. Baldwin, the most recent acquisitions being 211 colored angular beads of glass from an Indian grave near Brindletown, North Carolina, three strings of colored wampum from Cayuga county, New York, and a string of beads thirteen and a half feet long from the South Sea Islands.

BALDWIN-BALDWIN COLLECTION.

This collection was made by Judge C. C. Baldwin and his son, S. Prentiss Baldwin, and donated by the latter. The cabinet consists almost wholly of the remains of the Cliff-Dwellers. Taken in conjunction with the ruins of houses, the models of which have already been referred to, the value of this collection can hardly be estimated. Among the many places that yielded up the relics are Montezuma Canon, Cliff Palace, Holley Canon, Spring Tree, Spruce Tree, Tunnell City, Mesa Verde and Mancos. The collection is supplemented with various works of art secured of the Moqui Indians. In this collection are 4 human crania, 1 human mummy, 3 metate, 25 flat rubbing stones, 1 mortar, 3 cup stones, 1 sinker, 3 axes, 3 hatchets, 1 tube, 1 ball, 1 pipe, 1 hoe, 170 arrow heads, 90 bone implements, 423 beads or wampum, 113 vessels of pottery, besides a great number of broken pieces of pottery more or less decorated. Collections such as this should be seen in order to be appreciated.

WORDEN-WARNER COLLECTION.

Joseph and James Worden and Carlos Warner explored the site of an Indian village near Willoughby, Ohio, and opened the graves adjoining the same. The collection made by them was donated by the first named after the decease of the other two. While this cabinet contains comparatively few of what might be termed choice specimens, yet it is of peculiar value in that it pre-

sents the domestic implements used by the inhabitants of an Indian village located on the south shore of Lake Erie. What was the actual life of these people was the same of the neighboring villagers during the same period. Specimens thus obtained, held in conjunction with others from the same locality are the true indices in unravelling the manners and customs of these bygone people. If every other collection in the Museum were removed, the Worden-Warner cabinet would be of sufficient importance to enlist the attention of any ethnologist.

The three indefatigable collaborators of Willoughby did not arrive to the exalted scope and breadth of an anthropologist, for, owing to some sentiment respecting the dead, the human bones, especially the skulls, were reinterred; thus the value of the crania is lost. The collection is accompanied by three MSS. maps of the old Indian fort and circle at Willoughby. The cabinet may be classified as follows: 257 bone, 30 pipes (besides fragments), 140 hatchets, 3 axes, 3 chisels, 21 bark peelers, 15 hammers, 46 perforated and 36 unperforated slates, 4 tubes, 1 cone, 5 cup stones, 8 vessels of pottery, 300 arrow heads and 100 miscellaneous, besides 3 human crania.

JOHNSON COLLECTION.

The collection made and donated by Henry N. Johnson is from Kelley's Island, in Lake Erie. The cabinet proves that the village on the island must have been either extensive or else used for a long period of time. The value of this collection is also great in that it illustrates the mode of life of the villagers that once occupied that site. Nearly all the degrees or stages of workmanship are here exhibited. It is probable that the typical specimens are from other localities. Judging by the class of relics found, the villagers of Kelley's Island must have been a

Line 8. Page 199 of Tract No. 90 of the Western Reserve Historical Society. Change "Hatch Collection" to read, The **Peter Neff Collection** Presented by **Mr. H. R. Hatch.**

pronounced type of savages. The relics consist of 7 pipes, 125 bone, 14 perforated and 3 unperforated slates, 50 balls, 38 axes, 150 hatchets, 53 bark peelers, 6 pestles, 3 rolling pins, 23 cup stones, 324 chert, 100 flat or polishing stones and 125 miscellaneous. In this enumeration, however, it must be noted that all are not from the island. This is specially true of the axes and bark peelers. The Peter Neff Collection -

Presented by ~~HATCH COLLECTION~~ Mr. H. R. Hatch

The cabinet donated by H. R. Hatch has been well arranged, for the most part, on cards, and thus makes a good display. It has been selected with care, and as the greater proportion of it came from the region of the Mound Builders, it may well be judged to be both choice and valuable. It is principally from Coshocton, Greene, Holmes and Knox counties, Ohio, with broken pottery from a shell heap on Cumberland Island, Georgia, and pipes belonging to the Chippewa Indians of the region of Lake Superior. The collection consists of 1 image, 3 tubes, 8 pipes, 50 perforated and 6 unperforated slates, 35 axes, 50 hatchets, 12 bark peelers, 9 pestles, 5 hammers, 9 balls, 1 discoid, 2 cones, 3 hematites, 4 cup stones, 1,142 chert or flints, besides broken ones not counted.

MINOR COLLECTIONS.

There are many specimens with names attached to same, but the record is not always sufficiently clear to indicate whether or not they were directly donated by said parties. It is, however, positively known that some of these specimens came directly from those whose names follow. The names specified are Dr. J. P. Kirtland, George W. Coon, D. W. Cross, Charles Carpenter, Amelia H. Converse, William Cardie, William Barker, E. F. Gaylord, H. C. Gaylord, Dr. T. Garlick, E. G. Green, J. A. and

R. S. Graham, O. J. Hodge, J. F. Harsch, P. M. Hitchcock, C. L. Johnson, Thomas Kirby, James Merrifield, Dr. W. B. Munson, Bertie May, Robert E. Mix, Bert Manchester, L. S. Philips, N. Smith, James J. Smith, Frank H. Smead, Dr. E. Sterling, Edwin Squire, A. J. Williams and O. B. Waite of Cleveland; R. W. Strong, Willoughby; A. W. and L. Bliss, G. W. McKisson and Cass Proctor, Northfield; J. Watkins, Marblehead; Prof. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin; W. C. Mills, Columbus; J. P. MacLean, Hamilton; F. Vandervier, Granger; Basil Thorpe, Warrensville; Judge M. L. Force and Dr. F. J. Locke, Cincinnati; Col. L. Du Pre, Memphis, Tenn.; A. F. Gage, Lawrenceburg, Ind.; L. Wilcox, Los Vegas, New Mexico; M. H. Baker, J. A. Potter and A. Porter, Rockport; O. F. French, Ashtabula; H. Chapman and J. A. Rogers, Kenton; J. E. Crandall, Lake View; H. E. French, East Rockport; Henry Hosmer, Guilford; W. R. Philips, Chagrin Falls, F. A. Carr, Richfield; William Wilson, Stafford; J. S. Dille, Euclid, and Otis Fanor, Independence. The names of persons who donated to the Major collections are not included in the list, for the reason said gifts were made before the specimens were turned over to the Society.

The Minor or miscellaneous collections contain 21 human crania, 10 pipes, 4 images, 1 cone, 4 hematites, 74 perforated and 13 unperforated slates, 2 axes, 26 hatchets, 3 clay ornaments, 3 chisels, 17 vessels of pottery, 5 cup stones, 482 beads or wampum, 3 boat shape stones, 1 gouge, 7 copper, 45 bone, 900 chert or flints, 9 tubes, 2 balls, 2 hammers, 1 metate, 4 sculptures and 20 miscellaneous—fragments of pottery not counted. To this should be added the donation from the Smithsonian Institution, which, exclusive of casts, consists of 1 metate, 3 mortars, 2 flat stones, 1 cup stone, 6 axes, 6 pestles and 200 chert or flints.

CLASSIFICATION OF REMAINS.

The study of archaeology embraces all the ancient remains that pertain to man. In the investigation nothing must be slighted; for, however small or insignificant an object may be, it must be reckoned as pointing to something, perhaps of special importance. The metals, various kinds of stone, shells, bones, clay and wood will indicate advancement in the arts as well as the status of the people at the time the implements were fashioned.

CRANIA.

In solving pre-historic problems great reliance has justly been placed on human crania. *Crania Americana* has been carefully studied ever since Dr. Morton published his great work on that subject. Crania indicate that tribes may be separated as well as races. Collectors are now fully alive to the importance of carefully preserving the crania whether exhumed from graves or taken from mounds.

The collection of human crania possessed by the Historical Society is small, embracing but forty-two, inclusive of two Egyptian and exclusive of the broken and fragmentary, which would considerably increase the number. Those pertaining to America were of young men and bear no traces of having passed middle life. The sutures, especially the lambdoidal and sagittal, are open, and in the former, in some of the skulls, may be seen large wormian bones. Of the crania two are from the mounds, five are Cliff-Dwellers, and the balance from Indian graves. One of the last named still has the arrow point sticking in the occipital bone that deprived the Indian of his life. The skull from a mound near Memphis, Tenn., donated by Col. L. J. Du Pre, is not accompanied by any history, save that it was found at

the base of a mound. The skull from a mound in Illinois, donated by Hon. A. J. Williams, is in a perfect state of preservation. It was, in 1879, dug out of a mound, twenty-five feet in height, on an elevation about two hundred feet above the Wabash river, near Marshall's Ferry. The skeleton was about eight feet below the top of the mound, and over it had grown an oak tree more than three feet in diameter. On the breast was a large sheet of mica, and in the elbow of one arm was a large sea-shell (in the Museum) having the inside spiral formation well worked out, thus transforming it into a dipper.

EGYPTIAN MUMMY.

The ethnological value of the Museum has been greatly enriched by the addition of an Egyptian mummy, being the remains of the high priest of Thebes during the 18th dynasty, and lived 3,500 years ago. It is in a perfect condition, and in all probability none better has come from the tombs. As there will be a special paper on this mummy nothing further will be here recorded. It was presented by Hon. L. E. Holden.

IMPLEMENTS OF METAL.

It is not the province of this paper to trace the state of the arts among the Americans from our earliest knowledge of them. Primitive man first learned the benefit of a club as a weapon of offense and defense. From the shelter afforded by the branches of trees, he afterwards protected himself under overhanging rocks and in the recesses of caves, during which time he learned the value of rude stone implements and by successive steps approached the use of metals. At the time of the discovery of America the aborigines knew the use of copper, and also fashioned hematite and iron into various shapes.

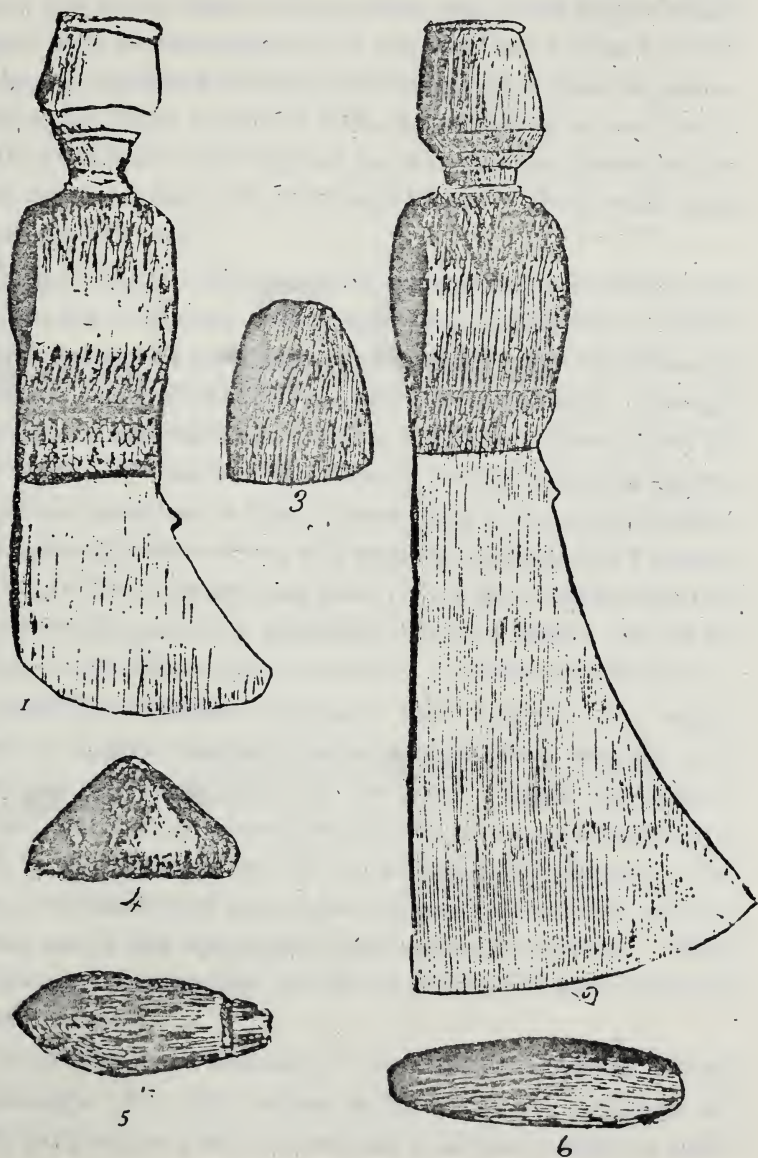
IRON.—Such implements of iron, embracing ornaments and hatchets—exclusive of arrow points—in the Museum, were made by the white man and received by the Indians through barter. It is not a difficult matter to discern the difference in the manufacture of metals by the two races. The Museum contains seven tomahawk pipes, and eight hatchets or axes of iron. One of the pipe tomahawks is inlaid with silver Masonic emblems. In Ohio this class of pipes occurs more abundantly in Darke county—west of a line running due north and south through Greenville—although not numerous even there. They have been ploughed up on the surface, and a few have been taken from graves. The blade is usually of a good quality of steel, and the rest of wrought iron. In some the bowl is screwed into the pole of the hatchet, and in others welded. It is probable that the greater percentage of them was made by the French. Occasionally they are seen with a cross in a circular depression on the blade, in which case they were given by the Jesuits.

In the accompanying illustration (Plate I)* is the figure of the hatchet that belonged to an Indian called Wilson, who was the last of his race killed in Summit County, Ohio. He was killed by Jonathan Williams on Mud Brook, on account of having maltreated the wife of a pioneer. The bowl is battered and the blade greatly worn. Of much finer workmanship is another (2) purchased in Detroit in 1793, and donated by R. E. Mix. These two specimens are fair representations of those usually found.

As the effects of an Indian were usually buried with him, the graves at times are rich in the variety of their contents. In November, 1866, at Presque Isle, west side of Lake St. Clair, and seven and one-half miles above Detroit, an Indian grave was

*All illustrations in this paper, except two, were drawn by Eugene H. MacLean, from the actual specimens. Unless otherwise mentioned, all are reduced to one-half the diameter of the originals.

PLATE I.



opened, over which stood an apple tree eleven inches in diameter, out of which were taken a brass kettle, bell, three copper beads, copper plate for fastening ends of hair with hair enclosed, wooden spoon, fragments of two pewter dishes, four parts of pewter spoons, two flints, a piece of iron, one ornament of bone and a fragment of cloth. It is beyond question that the greater part of these relics was the work of the white man. These relics were donated by Mr. Mix.

HEMATITES.—The hematites, representing both brown and red, are few in number, embracing 6 cones, 2 hatchets, 5 plumb-bobs, 2 rubbers or polishers, and 1 nodule. The localities are not given, but in all probabilities they are surface finds. Though this class of implements is found to a greater or less extent all over Ohio, and indeed in other states, yet the hematites appear to be more abundant in Meigs County than in any other locality. It is generally believed that this metal was obtained in Pennsylvania. In the accompanying plate (I) are given illustrations of a hatchet (3), cone (4), plumb-bob (5), and rubber (6), all of which, except the cone, are from the C. C. Baldwin collection.

COPPER.—Amateur collectors seek diligently for implements of copper, especially those obtained from mounds, and often pay exorbitant prices for the same. Copper implements are not abundant, and consequently did not occupy an important place in the industrial arts of the aboriginal inhabitants. The copper was hammered out cold and shaped into hatchets, chisels, knives, arrow and spearheads, and various ornaments. They not only occur in mounds, but also in graves, and a few from the general surface.

Colonel Charles Whittlesey, in "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge," No. 155, written in 1856, but not published till 1862, has given an admirable account of ancient mining on Lake

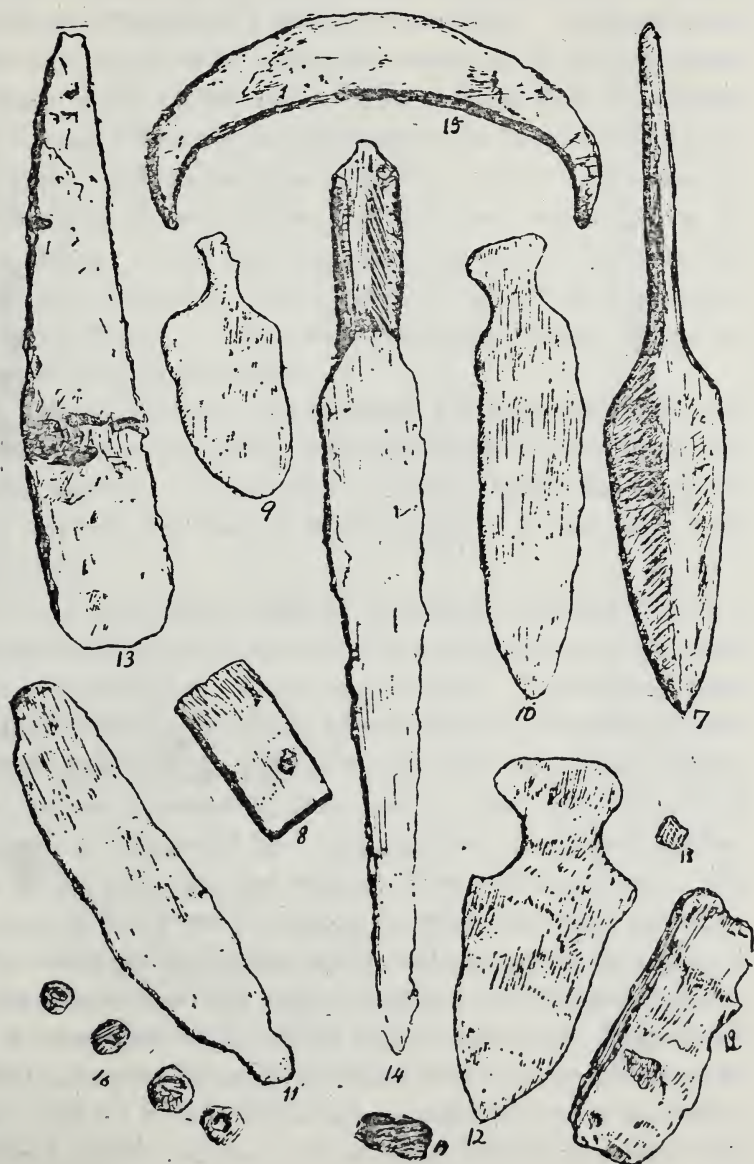
Superior, and from this treatise all subsequent works on copper implements have been largely drawn. Later investigations have established the route taken by the Mound Builders of Southwestern Ohio to the regions of Northwestern Michigan.

Unfortunately the Museum does not contain enough specimens to afford a practical study of these interesting remains. All that the Museum contains is illustrated in Plate II. The spear or lance (7), from Posey County, Indiana, is as perfect as could be made with primitive implements, and as good as the ordinary workman could execute at the present time. It may justly be termed a very fine relic. A small hatchet (8), from White County, Illinois, is also a fine specimen. The group of four knives (9, 10, 11, 12), came from near Portage, Wisconsin. They have been hammered until they are quite thin, and purposely made for the attachment of handles. All the above mentioned relics are from the C. C. Baldwin collection.

Dr. J. P. Kirtland presented a chisel (13), which was obtained from the base of a mound, leveled in preparing the prison grounds at Columbus, Ohio, in 1831. A copper dirk or lance (14), presented by J. S. Dille, was found seven feet below the surface, in Ontonagon, Michigan, in 1855, while digging a cellar. A crescentlike implement (15), was found in 1865, on French river, north shore of Lake Superior. There are four beads (16), given by Colonel Whittlesey, taken from a mound on Sawtell avenue, Cleveland, in 1869. The D. C. Baldwin collection contains two beads (17, 18), and an unfinished hatchet (19), found with human bones and sixty-eight arrowheads, while excavating for a cellar at Charlevoix, Michigan.

Copper mining implies the use of implements for the purpose. There must be utensils for digging, and others for breaking and hammering the copper. Even if the surface of a mass of copper

PLATE II.



were heated and then scaled by throwing on it cold water, there would nevertheless be a necessity for sledges. Implements of this kind at one time were quite numerous in the immediate vicinity of the ancient mines. One of these (Fig. 1), donated by Colonel Whittlesey, is illustrated in his "Ancient Mining on the Shores of Lake Superior," page 13. It has no appearance of having been shaped by man, and, doubtless, was picked up on the surface. It is 9 inches in length and 4 1-2 in thickness, and weighs 8 1-2 pounds. It was found in a copper mine known as "Central Mine." It has undergone rough usage, as may be proved by the broken part.

Colonel Whittlesey also donated a wooden shovel (Fig. 2), from the Waterbury Mine, near Eagle Harbor Point, Kewaunee, Lake Superior. The shovel is two feet in length and the greatest width of the blade is three inches. It has been worn obliquely.

In the work, above referred to, Colonel Whittlesey gives a section of the Waterbury mine, and an illustration of a wooden shovel taken from it. In the text he says: "In removing a part of the old burrow, Dr. Blake discovered several shovels, of white cedar, resembling the paddles in form now used by the Chipeway Indians in propelling their canoes. Had these been found elsewhere, they would have been regarded as ordinary paddles, but in this place they had evidently been used as shovels. This is also evident from the manner in which the blades are worn. The blades are more worn on the under side than the upper, as if the mineral had been scraped together and then shoveled out, as is the practice of the miners of the present day. The shovels which were found beneath the water level were sound in appearance, and the strokes of the tool by which they were formed remained perfectly distinct, but on being dried they shrunk very

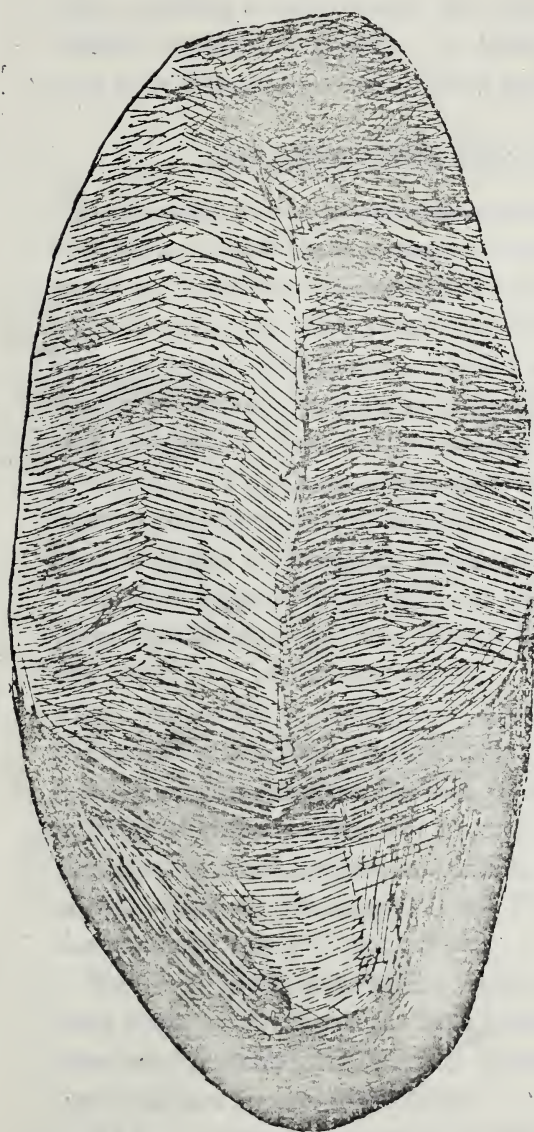


Fig. 1

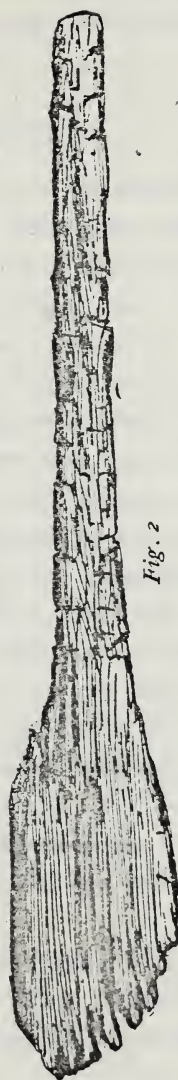


Fig. 2

much, opening in long cracks, the wood retaining little of its original strength or hardness. A birch tree, two feet in diameter, grew directly over one of these paddles."

PALAEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS.

Implements known as palaeoliths belong to that period when men did not polish their weapons of stone. Rude stone implements are found wherever primitive man has taken up his abode, and also where the highest patterns of stone relics occur. The shape or degree of finish does not mark a stone a palaeolith. Its distinction depends entirely on its location. That period in history assigned to them by the archaeo-geologist is glacial and pre-glacial. The valley of the Somme, France, is one of the most noted places for palaeoliths. This valley presents the records of two drift periods, which are separated by a layer of fresh water deposits containing river shells. In the lower gravel, lying immediately upon the tertiary formation, are found the flint relics of a pre-historic people. Although these remains have been found in comparative abundance, yet the Museum possesses but fourteen specimens from that region, which were secured through the efforts of Rev. Dr. G. Frederick Wright and S. Prentiss Baldwin, Esq., and by them donated to the Society. These relics, from Amiens, are among the best that can be obtained. They are leaf-shaped (Plate III, 21), and are typical of those usually found in that vicinity.

The D. C. Baldwin collection contains three palaeoliths, two from Kent, England, and one from London. All of these evince some workmanship, showing that an effort had been made looking towards a preconceived shape.

As the American rude stone implements have been called palaeoliths, not always with just reason, it will be necessary here to remark that they take many varieties of shape. In working

or breaking them off, the contour is governed by the seam in the stone, or such layer as flakes generally represent. Hence the varieties and sizes must materially differ. Casting all these together the Museum contains several hundred, and with the exception of thirty-four, from Yorkshire, England, all belong to the United States, and almost wholly from Ohio and including Kelley's Island. Among these can any one be assigned justly to the palaeolithic age, and how does it compare with those of Europe?

There are two palaeoliths in the Museum that have become quite celebrated through the efforts of Rev. Dr. Wright. He has published illustrated descriptive accounts of these, both in his "Man and the Glacial Period," and in Tract No. 75 of the Western Reserve Historical Society. Owing to what has already been written it would, in this place, be a work of supererogation to go into a detailed account, and what is here added is only an abstract of what Dr. Wright has already placed before the public.

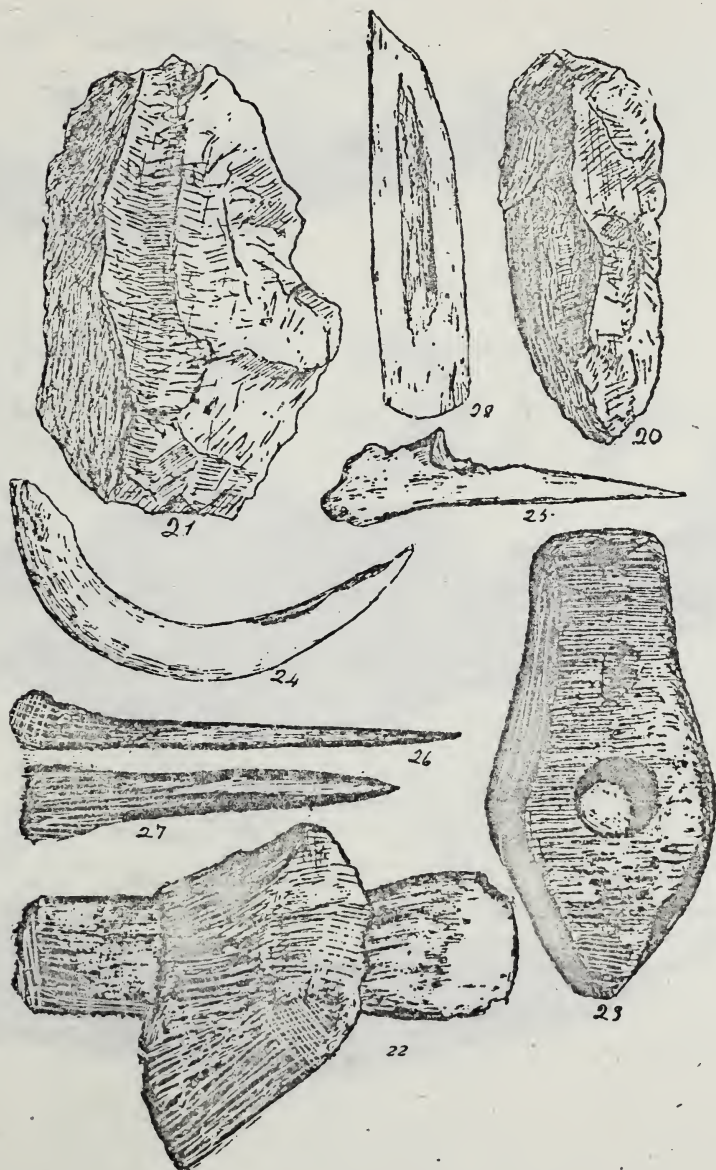
One of these, presented by Dr. Wright, was obtained by him from Prof. Asa Gray, who received it from Dr. John Evans, author of "Ancient Bronze Implements." It is a palaeolith from Amiens, France. The other, donated by W. C. Mills, was found by him in the terrace gravels at New Comerstown, Ohio, Oct. 27, 1889. It was found fifteen feet below the surface, the bank at that place having an exposure of twenty feet. Mr. Mills at once compared this specimen with other flint implements to the number of about 3,000, which he had collected in the same valley, but had none that resembled it. He was struck with its peculiar shape and glossy appearance, so characteristic of well known palaeoliths. Views of these implements are herewith given.

One of them (Plate III, 20) gives a front view of the New-comerstown implement. An edge view (Fig. 3, a) of this implement is given, with the comparative size of the Amiens implement, presenting both the face (b) and edge (c) surface.

The importance of the discovery of the New Comerstown implement is enhanced by the fact that this is the fifth locality in which similar discoveries have been made in America. In many respects this is the most interesting find, besides adding cumulative weight and force to the conviction that glacial man on this continent must be regarded as a reality.

It is beyond the limits of this paper to discuss the age of the Calaveras skull. Prof. J. D. Whitney, while conducting the geological survey of California, reported the finding of implements consisting of stone mortars and pestles, which occurred under the lava that flowed from the Sonora or Tuolumne Table Mountain. Under the same lava deposit, at Altaville, in Calaveras County, in 1866, the Calaveras skull, was discovered. Not far from the other localities, in the Empire mine, which penetrates the gravel underneath Table Mountain, was found, in 1887, by C. McTarnahan, a small stone mortar. The spot where it was obtained is about one hundred and seventy-five feet in from the edge of the superincumbent lava, which, at that point, is about one hundred feet in thickness. This mortar fell into the possession of Mrs. M. J. Darwin, and through the representations of Dr. Wright, that lady presented it to the Museum. It is unquestionably of the same age as the other finds in that region, including the Calaveras skull. The mortar, of a very fine grained granite, and ovoid form, not unlike a human cranium, when inverted, does not appear to have been purposely shaped. It probably was a boulder picked up along some river valley. At one point, answering to the occipital protuberance (carrying out the comparison) it has been pecked by some instrument and some-

PLATE III.



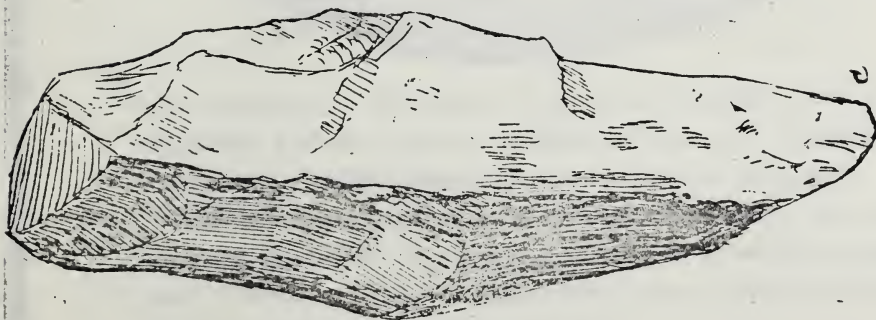
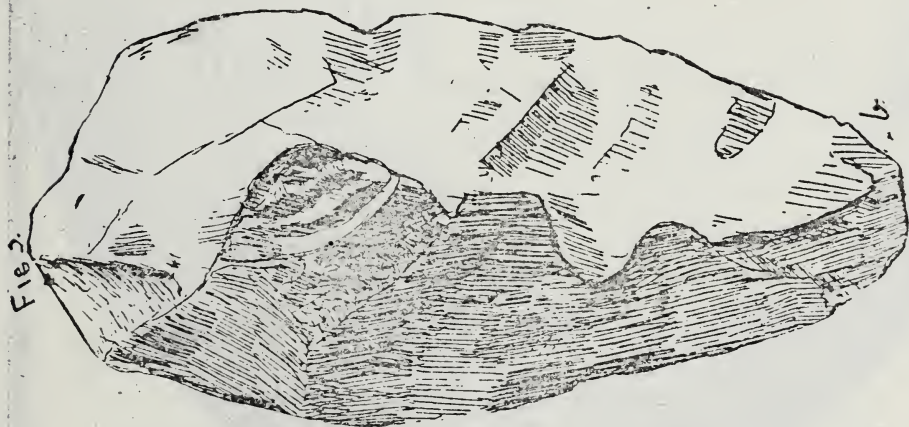
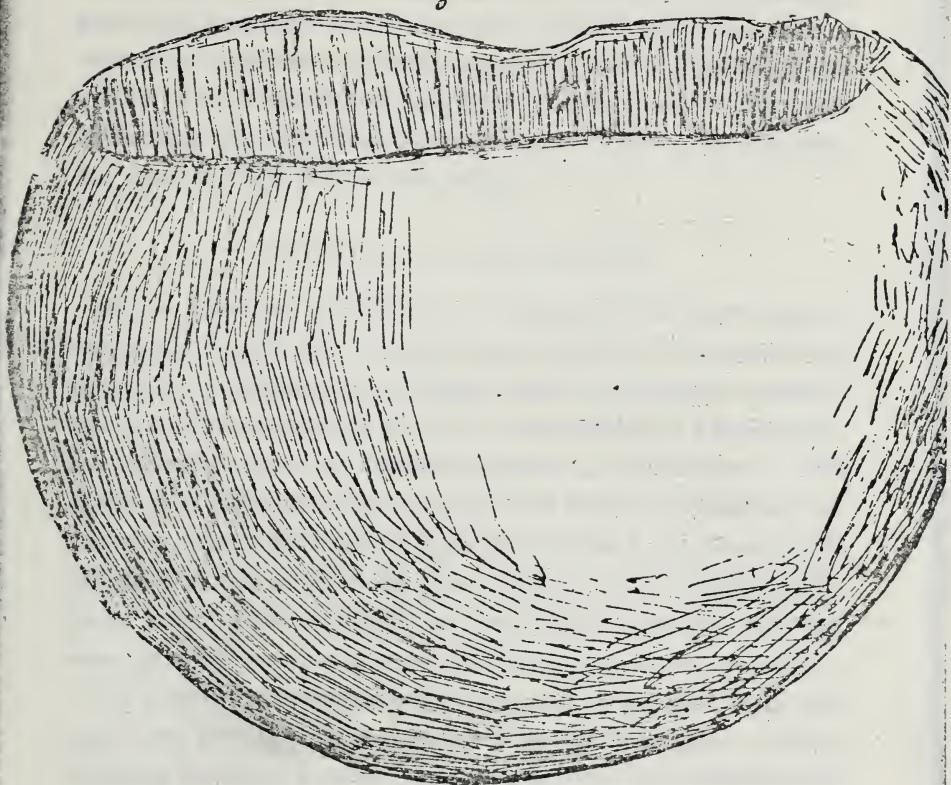


Fig. 4



what flattened. The cavity (Fig. 4) is beautifully and symmetrically hollowed out to a depth of two and three-fourth inches, with a surface diameter four and three-fourth inches.

The importance of this mortar with the palaeoliths, now in the Museum, cannot be too highly estimated in the study of early man. Whoever writes on palaeolithic man in America will do well to examine personally these relics.

Belonging to the palaeolithic age there is a period known as the Reindeer epoch. Fortunately, through the gift of P. M. Hitchcock, the Museum contains remains from a cave at Men-

tone, France. These consist of a flint knife, five inches long, fifteen flint chips, or cutters, fragments of three tusks, unrecognized, and a portion of the lower jaw, besides quite a number of teeth of an herbivorous animal, apparently that of a goat, and two grinders of the horse, with fragments of other teeth. Until this department receives more accessions, the remains, for the present, must be regarded more as curios.

NEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS.

While American palaeoliths are sought for and identified, it can hardly be said that a neolithic age was one of the marked peculiarities. Implements of almost every description, made of stone, are found polished, and with workmanship of a high order, but showing traces of different degrees of civilization. The Mayas, the Toltecas, the Peruvians, and other nationalities, displayed greater advancement than that of the Lake Dwellers of Switzerland. It would be proper to speak of the Mound Builders as being of the neolithic type, although confronted with the most plausible reasons to show that they had passed that stage.

The neoliths are represented by implements of stone, horn and bone from the lakes of Switzerland, mostly from Lake Zurich, although Baldeg, Locras, Luscherz, Schaffis and Schaffhausen contribute to the forty specimens in the D. C. Baldwin collection. Of the hatchets or celts, four are in stags' horn, three of which are from Lake Zurich. One of these (Plate III, 22) is as fine an implement as anything of the kind given in Keller's "Lake Dwellings." There is a perforated hammer (23), very hard and tough like serpentine; one end is wedge shaped, and in the middle is a helve hole circular throughout. The bore is accurate. The boar's tooth (24) may have been used for an ornament, although some, brought to an edge at the extremities, em-

ployed for cutting purposes. Among the bone implements (25, 26, 27) may be noted those used for awls, but one (28), though chisel-shaped, was used in dressing the hides of animals.

Of no less interest are the flint implements from the kjoekken-moddings of Denmark, consisting of 28 celts of various sizes, 4 chisels, 7 knives, 3 gouges, 2 hatchets, 1 polisher, 1 wedge and 1 lance. This collection consists of representative specimens and was secured by purchase. Belonging to the same epoch is an oyster knife from Ireland.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE—CHERT.

The mounds of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys would indicate a people who had taken great strides towards civilization. The contents of the mounds reveal works of art in stone of exquisite workmanship. The same also being found in graves and scattered over the general surface of the country, being richer in some than in other localities. There is a great variety of form, which was probably suggested by the purposes for which the implement was designed. While special varieties of stone were used for one kind of implement, yet all varieties were utilized for the same purpose. The following classification is adopted only for the purpose of showing the apparent object of the implement.

Judging by the frequency of its use, one of the most important minerals to savage and semi-civilized is flint, or chert. This mineral enters very largely into their weapons of warfare, the chase, and the domestic arts. They will go long distances in order to obtain it, and when secured it enters into merchandise. Ninety-five per cent. of the arrow and spearheads found scattered over the United States is composed of the different varieties of chert. When first quarried it is readily flaked and gives a keen edge, which is so greatly needed by man in an early state of society. The mineral is found in great abundance, thus adding to its intrinsic value.

SPEAR-HEADS—Great numbers of chert implements are found which, from their size, have been designated spear or lance heads. They present manifold shapes, and have been classified into lance, hunting and fishing spears. The first is formed without the notched or stemmed base; the second with the notched base, and the third, by a long tapering form. They are generally over two and one-half inches in length.

The Museum contains two hundred of all sizes and varieties. But if all the cherts of two and a half inches be included then the number would be greatly increased. While it would be of interest to give illustrations of all the types, yet it is hardly practicable. Some of the pronounced must suffice. In those given (Plate IV), all except one (29) are from the Whittlesey collection, and that one was taken from a mound in Cleveland. The longest one (30) in the Museum is from Posey County, Indiana.

ARROW-HEADS—Of all the relics in the United States none are more abundant than arrow points. Likewise these are the most numerous in the Museum, aggregating not less than three thousand, besides quite a collection of broken points not counted. Similar to the spear-heads they possess great diversity of form. Some are barbed, and have serrated edges; others beveled; others blunt, and most are sharp pointed. It is hardly necessary to classify them save to state that some are leaf-shaped, others convex-sided, with truncated base, others straight-sided, others triangular, some stemmed, and still others notched at sides. Some of the types are given in the accompanying illustration (Plate V), all of which are from the Whittlesey collection except the obsidians (31, 32), which are from the cabinet of D. C. Baldwin. The latter are from Blue Lakes, Snake river, Idaho, and appear to be the workmanship of the modern Indian. The Museum can boast only of eight obsidians. Of the arrow points many are made out of colorless quartz, jasper, carnelian and calcedony.

PLATE IV.

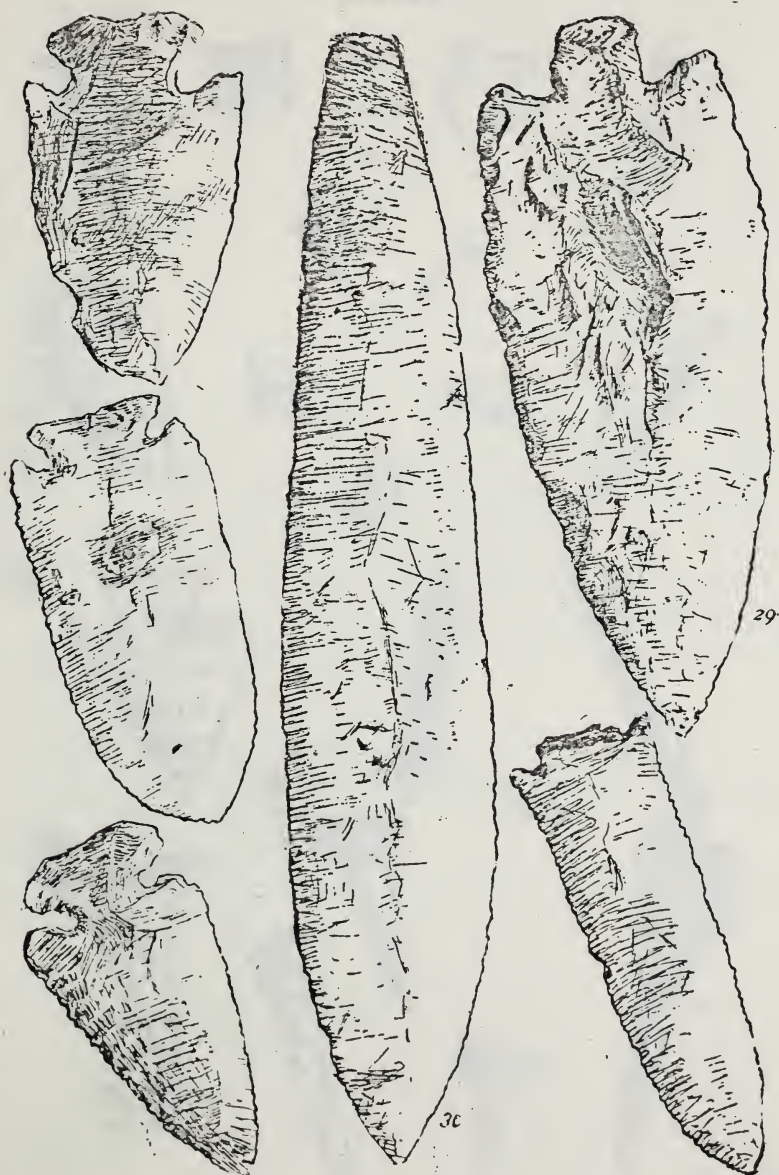
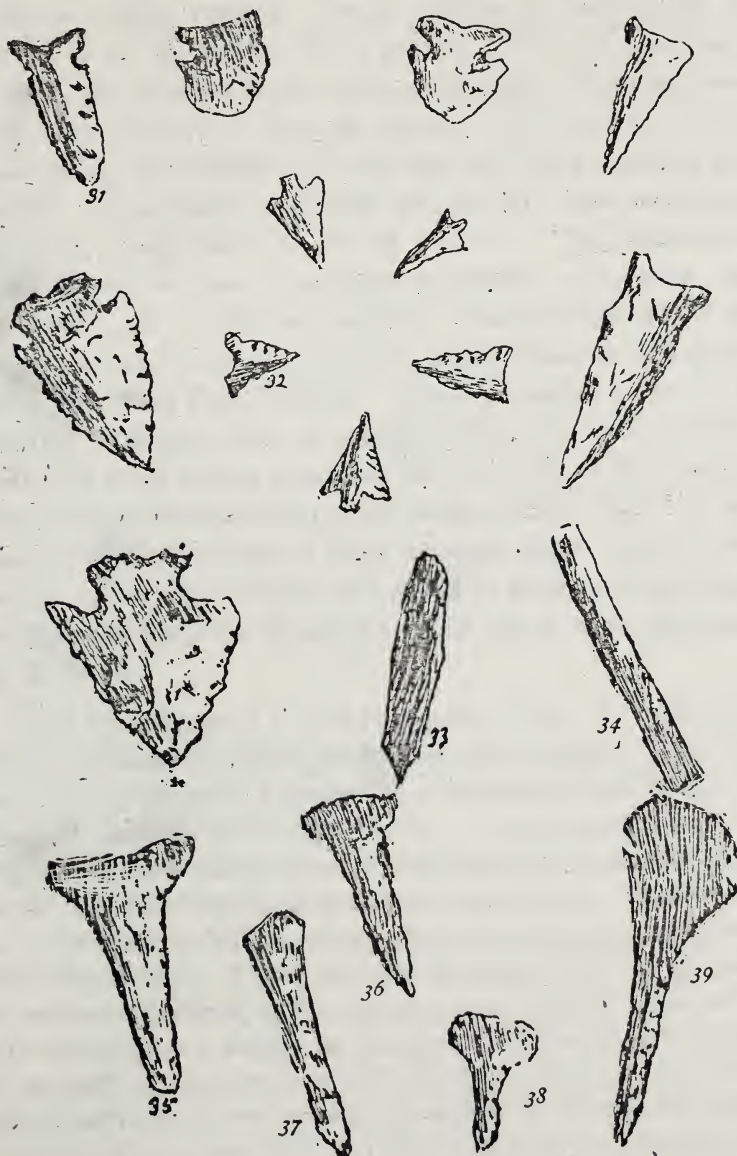


PLATE V.



KNIVES.—Knives and other cutting instruments are found with the various remains of man, whether in mounds, or in graves, or on the surface of the ground. They are principally of chert, but obsidian is met with occasionally. Some of these have edges almost as sharp as razors. Their pattern varies, some being semi-circular in form, and may be grasped in the middle. These flakes or knives are detached from the block either by a single blow, or else by pressure. The Museum is quite limited in these interesting specimens, possessing but twenty-five, all of which are superior. One of these (33) is an Aztec sacrificial knife of obsidian from the Island of Los Sacrificios, near Vera Cruz, Mexico. It was presented by Dr. F. J. Locke. Another knife of calcedony (34), with seven similar ones, was taken from a mound on the east bank of the Chagrin river, two and one-half miles below Chagrin Falls, Ohio. In the same mound were found a finely wrought pipe, several stone badges, seven copper beads, two pieces of mica, one perforated sandstone and a piece of lead ore. The knives were presented by R. Evans.

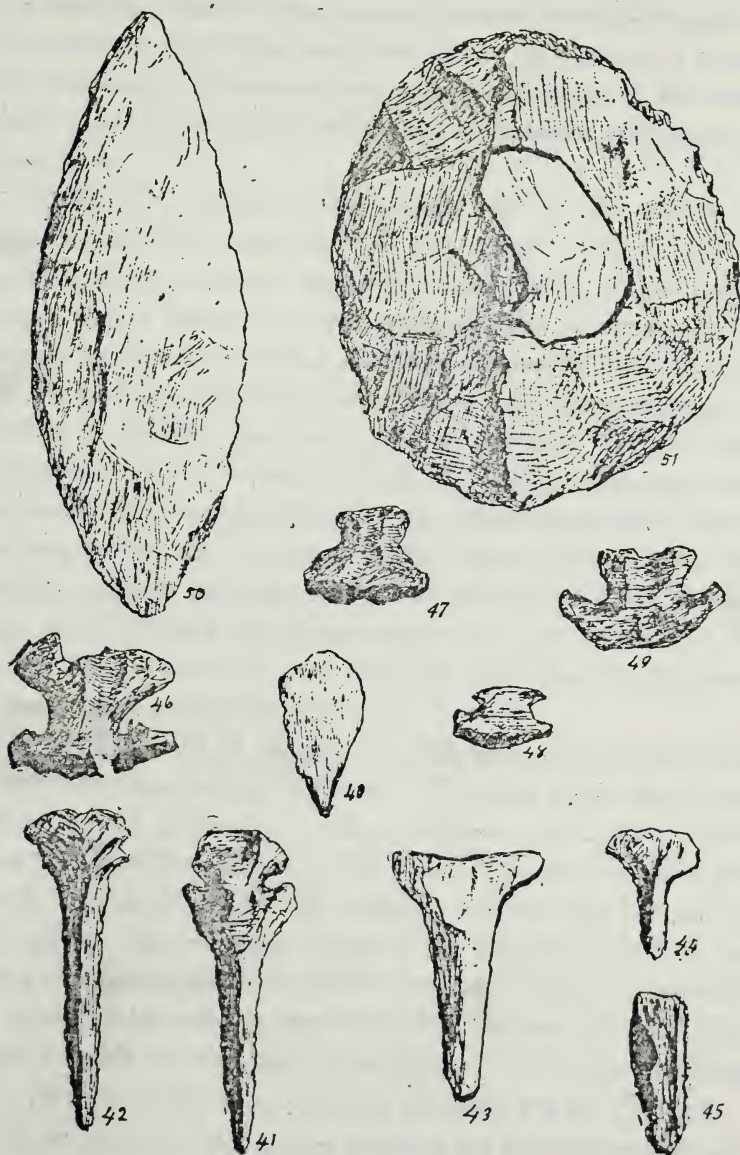
DRILLS.—There is a very interesting class of implements that have been called drills, perforators and rimmers. They occur from an irregular fragment of an elongated form to a well chipped, handsomely wrought bodkin. It is impossible to draw the line of demarcation between them and the arrow and spear-heads; for imperceptibly they run into one another. It has been assumed that the drills have been used for perforating purposes. This may be true. I have carefully examined hundreds of them in various collections, and in different states in the Union, but I have never seen a single one that clearly indicated such usage. If so used the implement would strongly indicate it, but their points and edges show no more of such wear than do the same features of an arrow point. It has been noticed, especially in

Butler County, Ohio, that they are generally found along streams, which would suggest that they had been used either for spearing or shooting fish. The seventy-three specimens in the Museum are of a marked character and would constitute an interesting feature in any collection. Those given in the illustration (Plate V, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39; Plate VI, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45) are taken from a card which is marked as having come from different localities.

SCRAPERS.—Tools having been worked at one extremity into a convex or semi-lunar edge are said to have been used for cleansing skins, scraping and smoothing horn, bone and wood. Among the Canadian Indians boys use them on their arrow shafts, in order that, if by accident another person should be struck, there would be less liability of danger. In all probability they were made out of broken arrow and spear-heads. It is difficult to tell the dividing line between this class and that of arrow and spear-heads. All the gradations between the blunt, oval-shaped scraper and the finest point of an arrow-head may be noticed. There are fifteen clearly defined specimens of this class, some of which may be seen in the accompanying illustration (Plate VI, 46, 47, 48, 49), which are pronounced in type, both as to size and general form.

LEAF-SHAPED IMPLEMENTS—Tools of this description vary greatly, the one from the other, even as the leaves so vary; and in size from the smallest arrow point to that class denominated hoes. In the enumeration I have classed the small ones as arrow-heads, where, doubtless, they rightly belong. Many have regarded these implements as primitive money, and the party who bartered for them, fashioned the same with such tools as appealed either to his fancy or necessity. It is well established that they were carried over the country in quantities, for

PLATE VI.



they have been met with in hidden places. One cache contained six hundred. But the great majority are as carefully wrought as the ordinary lance-head, and bear all the appearance of having been finished. There are forty typical specimens of this class, two of which (50, 51), from the D. C. Baldwin collection, are here given.

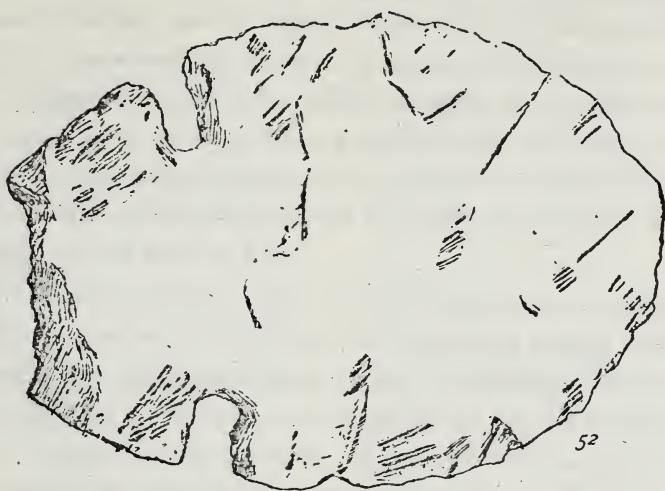
DIGGING TOOLS.—The largest size of the cherts are classed under the heads of hoes and spades. These tools are usually ovoid in shape, expanding considerably at the cutting edge, with a tapering or truncated opposite extremity. Still others have an oval outline, but truncated and laterally notched at the end opposite the blade. These tools were probably attached to handles, and were used in gardens. Of the thirty specimens, twenty belong to the C. C. Baldwin collection, most of which came from Cobden, Illinois. Thirteen of them, varying in length from six to sixteen inches, when struck by a wooden mallet, produce such notes that one well skilled could produce any tune. Of the two typical specimens, one (Plate VII, 52) from Troy, Tennessee, and the other (53) from Phillipstown, Illinois, give a fair representation.

WEDGES.—In all probability a fair percentage of the chert implements was used for hatchets. This class take a sharp edge, which would answer for cutting purposes, the same as other weapons of different stone. The form is the same as those generally so denominated. The Museum contains many of this description. Two of them, in the C. C. Baldwin collection, are very fine specimens, with polished or glazed edges, one of which is from Cobden and the other from Phillipstown, Illinois. They bear a striking resemblance to the flint celts of Northern Europe.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE OTHER THAN CHERT.

In the drift and along river bottoms are found stones ground

PLATE VII.

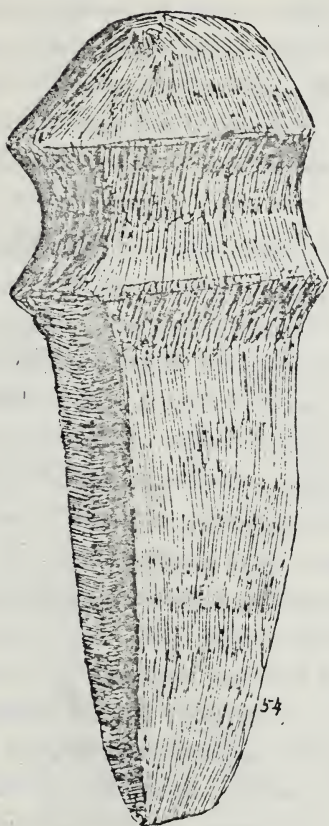


or rolled into various forms, belonging to the boulder series, and deposited during the Ice Age. Sometimes the forms of these boulders are of such a nature as to require but little labor in order to shape them into a formidable weapon, or a useful domestic utensil. It is more than probable that the shape of the boulder when found governed the pattern of the implement. This material, which also entered so largely into the arts of the aborigines, was near at hand.

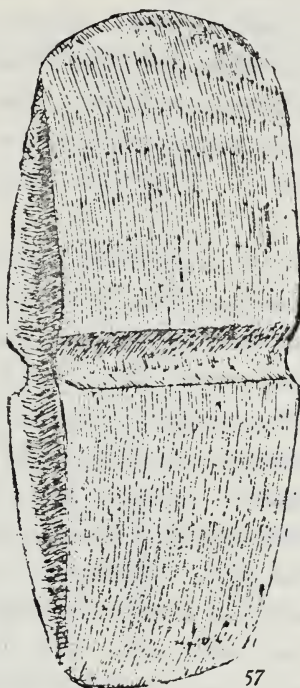
GROOVED AXES.—The grooved stone axes are almost as familiar as the arrow points, and are reckoned among the best known relics of the pre-historic people. Although this class is very abundant in the valleys occupied by the Mound Builders, it is not frequent in the mounds. It is more than probable that the greater per cent. of the axes used by the Indians was the handiwork of the Mound Builders. Of the Worden-Warner collection there are but six axes, three of which are rude. Whether the three well finished axes were obtained in Indian graves or elsewhere, there is no record. Of the Johnson collection there are no grooved stone axes marked as having come from Kelley's Island.

Of the one hundred and seventy axes no two are alike, and they represent all sizes, from two to ten inches in length, and six and one-half in breadth. Generally speaking they may be defined as wedges encircled by a groove which is near the butt-end or pole. Four special types will only be spoken of in this connection, three of which belong to the C. C. Baldwin collection, the finest of which (Plate VIII, 54), made from porphyry, has been hollowed out both in the inner and outer edge. In all its parts it is symmetrical, and bears no trace of hard usage. It was found in Posey County, Indiana. The smallest in the Museum (55), also from Posey County, and of same material, has great

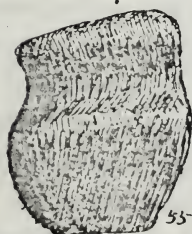
PLATE VIII.



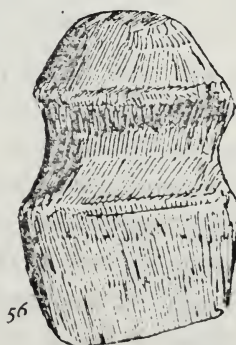
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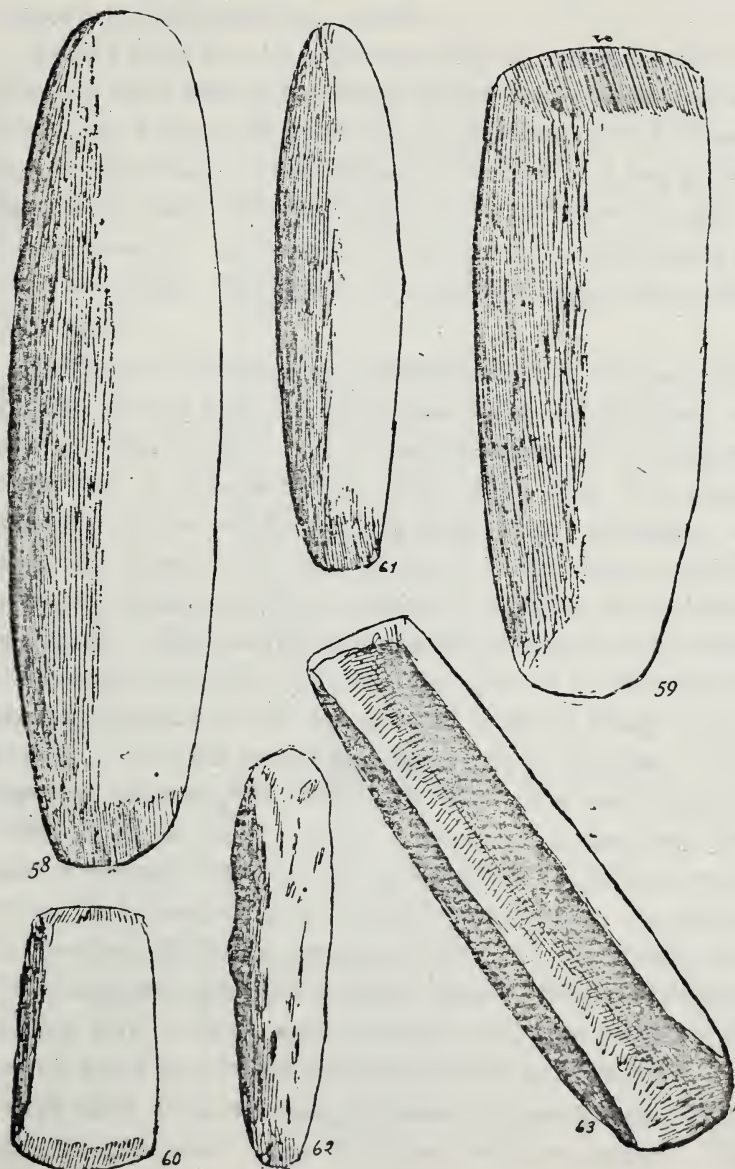
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thickness in proportion to its length. The third (56), from Minerva, Ohio, is of compact greenstone. The edge, somewhat broken, appears to be the result of a recent fracture. The axe with a double blade (57) is from the ^{Dover, N. H.} Hatch collection, and is composed of a very hard compact slate, almost equal to greenstone. The inner edge has a groove. The marks of the cutting instrument, with which it was dressed, appear all over it. It came from Knox County, Ohio.

HATCHETS.—This class, sometimes called celts, is very abundant, being generally found on the surface, and occasionally in mounds. The hatchets are both rude and polished, and occur on the sites of Indian villages and in graves. The pattern varies but little, but in length they occur from one to fourteen inches, being made from different kinds of stone, such as serpentine, syenite, diorite, hornblende, slate and other material. Usually they are brought to a symmetrical edge, ground from both sides, with rounded contours at the opposite extremity. They have been used for the double purpose of domestic utensils and tomahawks in war. The larger specimens have been called bark-peelers. Of the four hundred and sixty specimens, only three specimens will be referred to. One of these (Plate IX, 58), made of porphyry, found at Brecksville, Ohio, in 1812, is rather singular for its length. When of this length they are usually broader; but this one, near the center, is almost round, and has the appearance of an immense chisel. Another (59), of compact greenstone, is of the usual type of the larger specimens. It was found at Independence, Ohio. The small one (60), from Kelley's Island, is of the exact pattern as the last (59) described.

Allied to this class is another implement found at Santa Cruz, California. It is thirteen and one-fourth inches in length, with greatest breadth of four and one-half inches. It is brought to

PLATE IX.

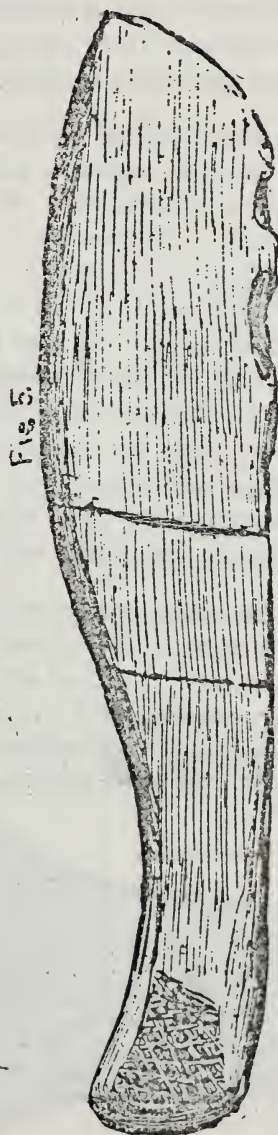


an edge after the same manner as hatchets in general; but the opposite end is formed like a chisel.

BATTLE-AXE.—An implement (Fig. 5), called a battle axe, found in June, 1888, in the valley of Red Brook, about one mile from Lake Erie, and five miles from Ashtabula, by O. F. French, and by him donated to the Museum, is made of a fine grained, light brown slate. The implement is twenty inches in length by four in breadth. On one side of the extremity of the handle are cross markings. The implement was well wrought, and exhibits hard usage.

CHISELS.—Owing to the resemblance to an ordinary chisel another class of tools has taken that name, and doubtless was used for that purpose. It is wedge shaped, of an elongated form and of comparatively small size, with the greater diameter in the middle. This class is not abundant, and is much sought for by collectors. Of these carefully wrought implements the Museum contains but thirteen specimens. Only one (61) is here given, composed of porphyry, and found at Put-in-Bay. On the same plate is an illustration of another tool (62), of siliceous material, found in Posey County, Indiana. It is flat on one side and ovoid on the other. The edge has been ground from both sides, and well polished. While, in all probability, this is a chisel, yet it may have been used in dressing hides, or else as a polisher in the finer works of art. It belongs to the C. C. Baldwin collection. In addition to the above should be mentioned three very fine chisels from New Caledonia, which are probably modern, composed of a fine grained dark colored slate, received through purchase, the longest being nine inches in length and the shortest eight.

GOUGES.—The Museum possesses but one gouge and one adze; but the latter might be classed with the former. The



gouge (63) is made from a fine grained greenstone. It was used for removing charred portions of wood in hollowing out canoes, and in cutting stone where grooves or cavities were required. This class is catalogued among the rarer implements.

HAMMERS AND MAULS.—Hammer-heads and hammer-stones, consisting of round, or oval, and grooved boulders of quartzite, granite, greenstone and other varieties of rock are found in more or less abundance, but are comparatively rare in some localities. The best field in Ohio is Darke County, which is a little north of the line of the Mound Builders. Those having grooves, for the most part, are carefully wrought. The groove is not always carried around the stone. Others are balls, varying from the symmetrical to those of great irregularity of form. When of large size they are called mauls.

The Museum contains but few mauls, although its collection of hammers is quite large, the rougher specimens predominating, thus affording a fine opportunity for the study of this class of art.

PESTLES.—Pestles are almost as common as the grooved axes. Butler County, Ohio, is very rich in them, and, perhaps, surpasses any other locality. This class also presents a variety of form, the usual one being a bluntly pointed cone with a knob-like expanse at the base. The usual type may be seen in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 6). The cut has been made to

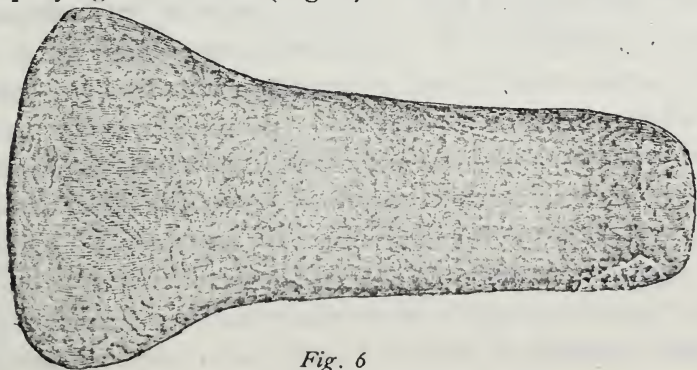


Fig. 6

do duty in many different publications. The original specimen is in the C. C. Baldwin collection. It is composed of quartz. A large per cent. of this class of utensils is a simple cone; still others have the knoblike expanse at both extremities, one always being larger than the other. Of the cone-shaped the Museum contains fifteen, and also the same number of knob-shaped.

Closely allied to the pestles are the rolling pins, which are long, straight and round, tapering towards the ends. They are smooth and often well polished. Of the eleven in the Museum, the longest—in the Johnson collection—is twenty-one inches.

MORTARS.—The pestle implies a mortar. The cultivation of maize among the tribes of the United States was quite extensive at the time of the discovery, and this necessitated the application of grinding utensils. Experience, sooner or later, would demonstrate the necessity of having cavities for holding grain whilst it was being crushed. These cavities, when large enough to receive a pestle, are called mortars, although, generally speaking, they vary from a slight depression in the stone to the ponderous deeply hollowed vessel in a permanently located boulder. Of what might be termed true mortars, the Museum contains eleven, the finest of which, more like a well rounded bowl, is the gift of the Smithsonian Institution. It is composed of fine grained sandstone, and was found on San Nicholas Island, California. Another, deserving of special notice, found at Bedford, Ohio, and presented by A. Beach, has a symmetrical cavity four inches in depth, in a coarse sandstone nineteen inches in height, nine by ten inches at the top and twelve by fifteen at the base.

Not in the above enumeration is another class, consisting of a large collection of symmetrical cavities of slightly hollowed nessesels, varying from a few inches to a foot in diameter, mostly

from Kelley's Island, in the Johnson collection. Some of these depressions are gradually raised toward the center, and are as symmetrical as though they had been turned. Accompanying them are many flat stones, either used in the culinary art, or else to support the pelts of animals during the process of tanning.

The metate, belonging to the general class of mortars, is an especially interesting utensil. Although the collection is small, numbering but seven, yet they are of value in the study of anthropology, and whosoever has not seen vessels of this description cannot afford to pass them over. All are composed of coarse sandstone, except one of steatite. Four were obtained in Colorado by Judge C. C. Baldwin, and one, donated by the Smithsonian Institution, is from Uintah Valley, Utah. The largest, in the C. C. Baldwin collection, is twenty-two by sixteen inches, with a cavity of nineteen by ten inches. There is still another (Fig. 7), from the Pueblo of Parowas, southern Utah, which shows a peculiar conformation. The stone is seventeen by ten inches, with the main (a) cavity ten by eight inches. After bringing the line of the cavity to a raised point in the stone, the artisan then added a slightly depressed cavity (b) at the opposite extremity.

CUP-STONES.—The fifty-one sandstones containing cuplike depressions, vary in number of these cavities to each stone, from one to twenty-one. Some, containing but one cavity, show great care in their execution, both in the general form of the stone and in the depression. By some this class has been called paint-stones, and by others regarded as used for holding nuts while being broken or cracked. Some of the pestles are so constructed that the pole would admirably fit into these cavities, which would suggest that they were also used for grinding purposes. The largest of all these stones (Fig. 8) is twelve inches in length by nine in width, with a thickness of four, with the reverse side hollowed out.

Fig 7.

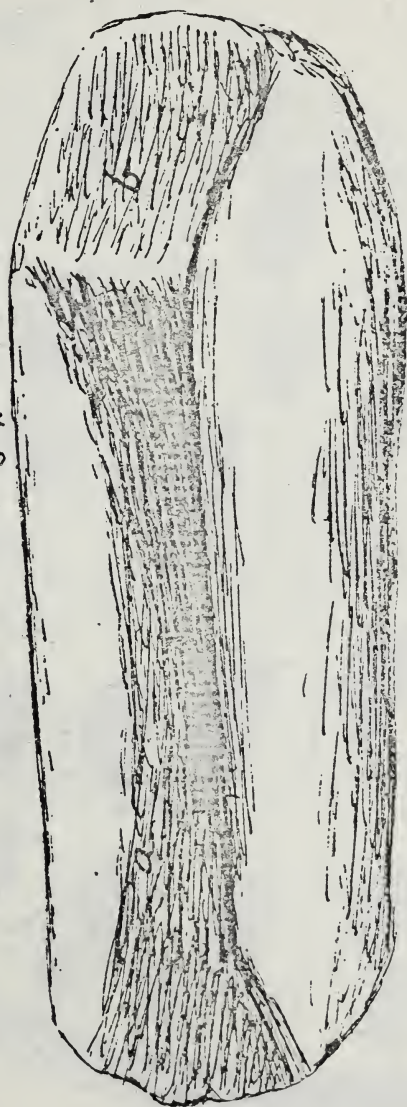


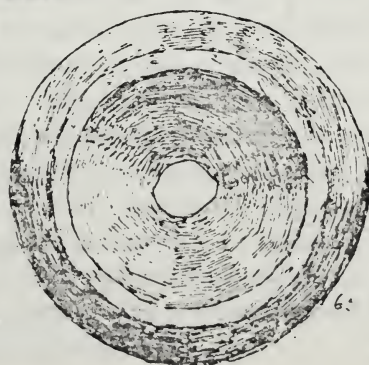
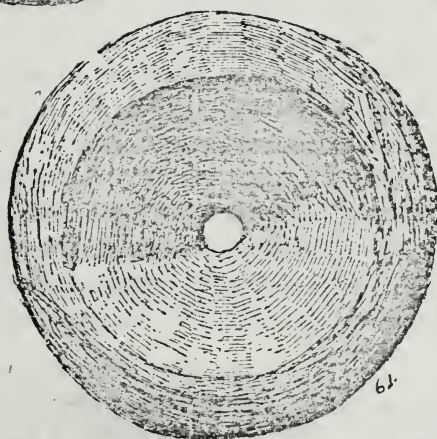
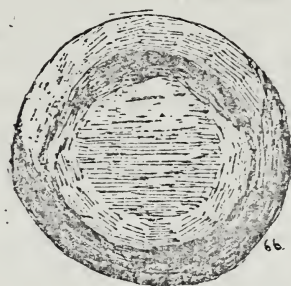
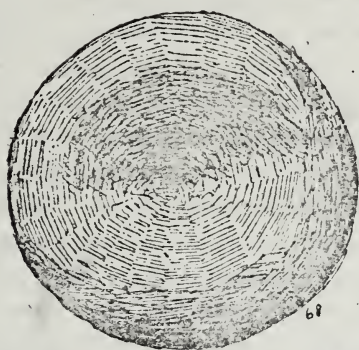
Fig. 8.

DISCOIDS.—All of the discoids, ten in number, belong to the C. C. Baldwin collection, except one which is in the Hatch cabinet. Although found from Ohio to Peru, in South America, yet it may be said that the latter specimens are rare, even in the regions inhabited by the Mound Builders. In the accompanying plate (X) all the figures are taken from specimens in the C. C. Baldwin collection. One (64) is from Stark County, Ohio, composed of quartzite, with a narrow seam of colorless quartz running through it, is perforated and is two and one-half inches thick by four in diameter. Modern art could not improve it. The second (65) differs from the first in having a grooved instead of a slant cavity. The surface is marked by having a flat projection. It is of dolorite, one and five-eighths inches in thickness by three and three-fourths diameter. It was found in Washington County, Ohio. The third (66), composed of impure jasper, from Posey County, Indiana, is not perforated. The cavities are equal, and the stone three inches in diameter by one in thickness. An irregular (67) disc, the smallest in the collection, appears to be unfinished, while the remaining one (68), though having no signs of a cavity, is finished, but probably used for the same purpose.

This class of relics has also received the name of chungke, and their use is thus described by Adair:

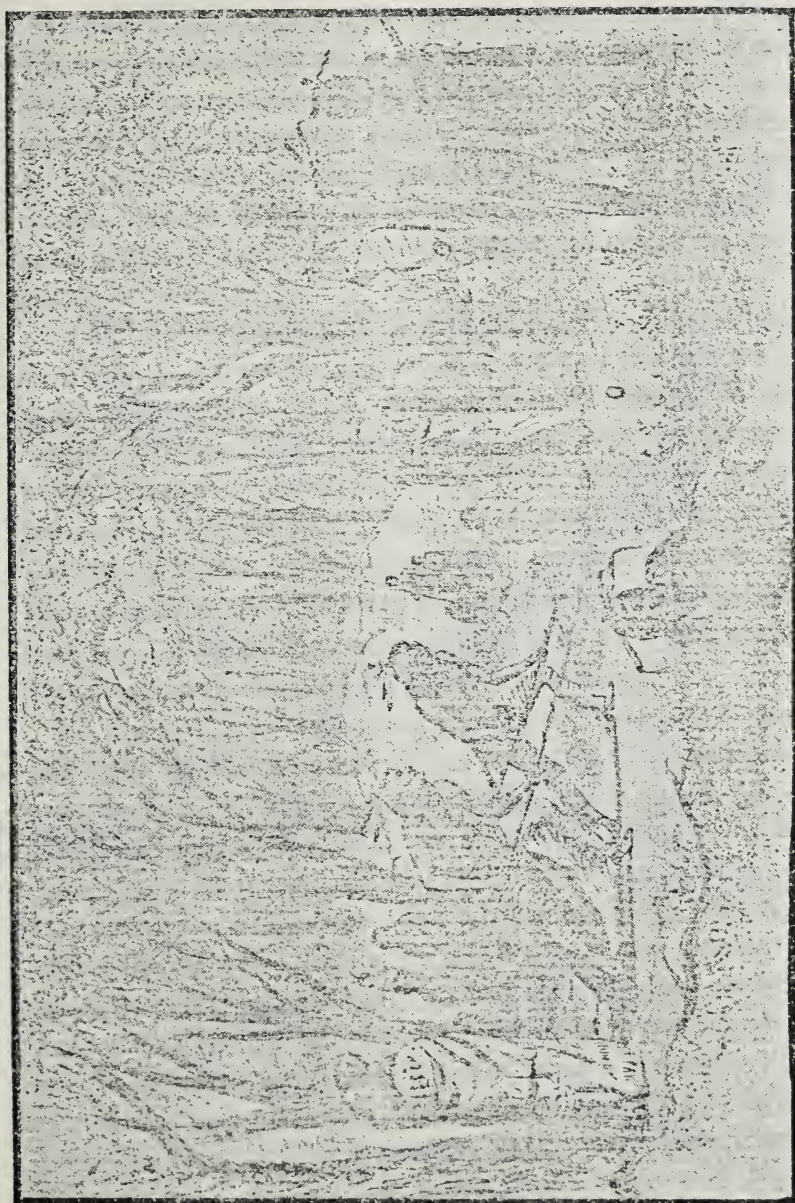
"The warriors have another favorite game, called chungke; which, with propriety of language, may be called 'running hard labor.' They have near their state house a square piece of ground well cleaned, and fine sand is carefully strewed over it, when requisite, to promote a swifter motion to what they throw along the surface. Only one, or two on a side, play at this ancient game. They have a stone about two fingers broad at the edge, and two spans round; each party has a pole of about eight feet long, smooth, and tapering at each end, the points flat. They set off abreast of each other at six yards from the end of the play ground; then one of them hurls the stone on its edge, in as direct a line as he can, a considerable distance toward the

PLATE X.



middle of the other end of the square; when they have run a few yards, each darts his pole, anointed with bear's oil, with a proper force, as near as he can guess in proportion to the motion of the stone, that the end may lie close to the stone—when this is the case, the person counts two of the game, and, in proportion to the nearness of the poles to the work, one is counted, unless by measuring, both are found to be at an equal distance from the stone. In this manner the players will keep running most part of the day, at half speed, under the violent heat of the sun, staking their silver ornaments, their nose, finger and ear rings; their breast, arm and wrist plates, and even all their wearing apparel, except that which barely covers their middle. All the American Indians are much addicted to this game, which to us appears to be a task of stupid drudgery; it seems, however, to be of early origin, when their forefathers used diversions as simple as their manners. The hurling stones they use at present, were time immemorial rubbed smooth on the rocks, and with prodigious labor; they are kept with the strictest religious care, from one generation to another, and are exempted from being buried with the dead. They belong to the town where they are used, and are carefully preserved.”—History of North American Indians, p. 401.

PENDANTS AND SINKERS.—The two grooved and one ungrooved and four cones, in the Museum, made of stone, are similar in form to those of hematite, previously mentioned. It has not been positively determined for what purpose these objects were used. It has been suggested that their purpose was for weighting fishing nets, but it is hardly probable that so much time and care would be bestowed upon them, when the danger of losing them is considered, and especially when rougher weights would equally answer the intention. As hematite largely enters into this class it would be reasonable to infer that these objects were used for ornaments, or else occupied a place in the civic ceremonies, or medicinal incantations.

Fig. 9.

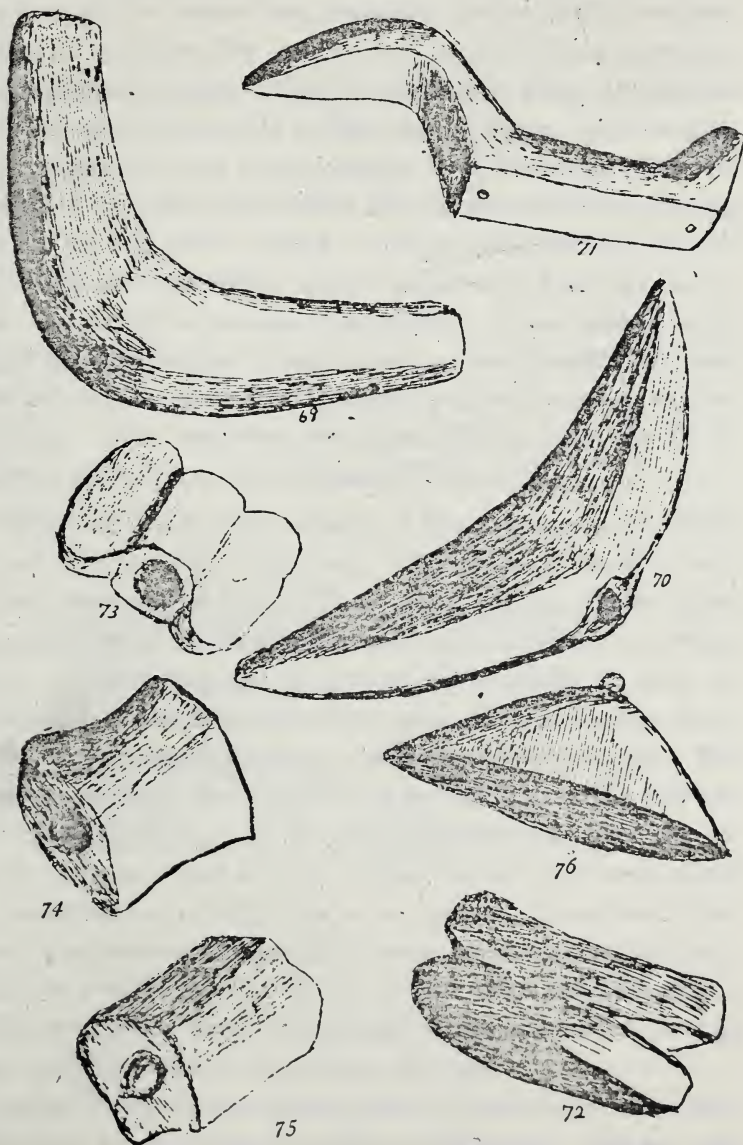
THE GAME OF CHUNGKE.

There is a class of implements made of pebbles with an oblique hole near the circumference of the stone. As forty-four of the forty-six specimens in the Museum are from the Worden-Warner collection, it is not unlikely that they were used as net sinkers. Although they were obtained near the shore of Lake Erie, that, of itself, does not establish this purpose; for, notwithstanding the great number of relics from Kelley's Island, not one of this class is therein contained.

DRILLED CEREMONIAL IMPLEMENTS.—Under this head may be counted forty specimens, nearly all of which are of a fine grained slate. They do not convey the impression that they are works of utility. It is possible that they were used as insignia of rank in such religious or other ceremonies as had been adopted by the tribe. They are of many different forms, the holes well drilled, and the implements polished with care. If the perforations had been made for the reception of handles, then such use for which they were required bore no strain, for an oblique pressure would readily produce a fracture.

All archaeological collections contain this interesting class, and space will here be given for but few, all of which, save one, are from the C. C. Baldwin cabinet. Two (Plate XI, 69, 70) are somewhat similar, the finish on either side being the same. Both are of ribbon slate, the first from Stark County, Ohio, and the other from Willoughby. The birdlike form (71), from Ash-tabula County, Ohio, is of a fine grained sandstone, but has no particular markings. In the D. C. Baldwin collection is another having eyes protruding from the head, which stone, however, may be intended to represent a deer. There is a peculiar form (72) somewhat similar to a double blade with the extremities split, composed of a dark compact slate. It is from Carroll County, Ohio. Another (73), with a double blade, from Posey

PLATE XI.



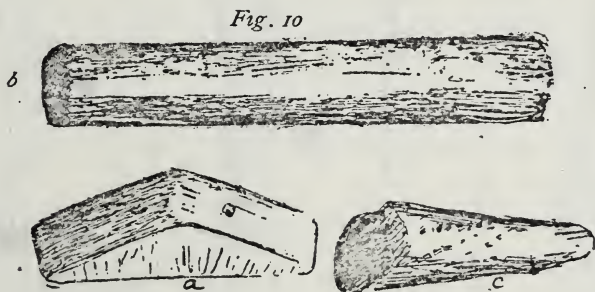
County, Indiana, composed of sandstone, has a regular perforation through the center, and the whole symmetrically wrought. There is a specimen (74), from White County, Illinois, composed of translucent ferruginous quartz, has sides or wings corresponding to wedges, but exhibit a slight inward curve. Near it (75), and composed of the same material, is a four-sided relic, depressed in the center, and with a core at one extremity, proving that the bore had been started. As these perforations had been made with sand and reeds, the time required to finish the incomplete one would seem almost incredible. It was picked up in Posey County, Indiana. Implements are also found with a protuberance at the center of the curve, and perforated at the extremities. The specimen here given (76) is from the D. C. Baldwin collection, and found near Elyria, Ohio.

PIERCED TABLETS.—Relics of this description should be classed with those just described. One is just as much a ceremonial stone as the other. They are of various shapes, great regularity, finely finished and pierced with from one to several holes. Usually they are of a hard, dark variety of slate, although the greenish-striped variety does not infrequently occur. When of mottled stone they are very pleasing to the eye. The Museum contains two hundred and five perforated and fifty-one unperforated tablets. If the perforated had been used for domestic purposes, such as sizing thread, more or less wear would be indicated; but no such marks are visible. Some have called them "peep-stones," believing they were used to assist the eye in seeing at a distance. The fact, that they do so assist the vision, lies in the cutting away of the light, except that which directly falls on the iris, thus concentrating the rays.

Special illustrations are here given of but few of the many varieties, and no particular description is needed. All but two

are from Stark County, Ohio. One of these (Plate XII, 76) is from Carroll County, Ohio, and the other (77) from Auburn, Ohio. The one with a double flange (78), on both sides, is notched on its extremities, bearing the number of 37 and 56 indentations on the one side and 29 and 35 on the other. Whether it is a record or only fancy, it is impossible to determine. Peculiarly notched is still another (79), of triangular shape, composed of brown slate. The specimens on the plate are from the C. C. Baldwin collection.

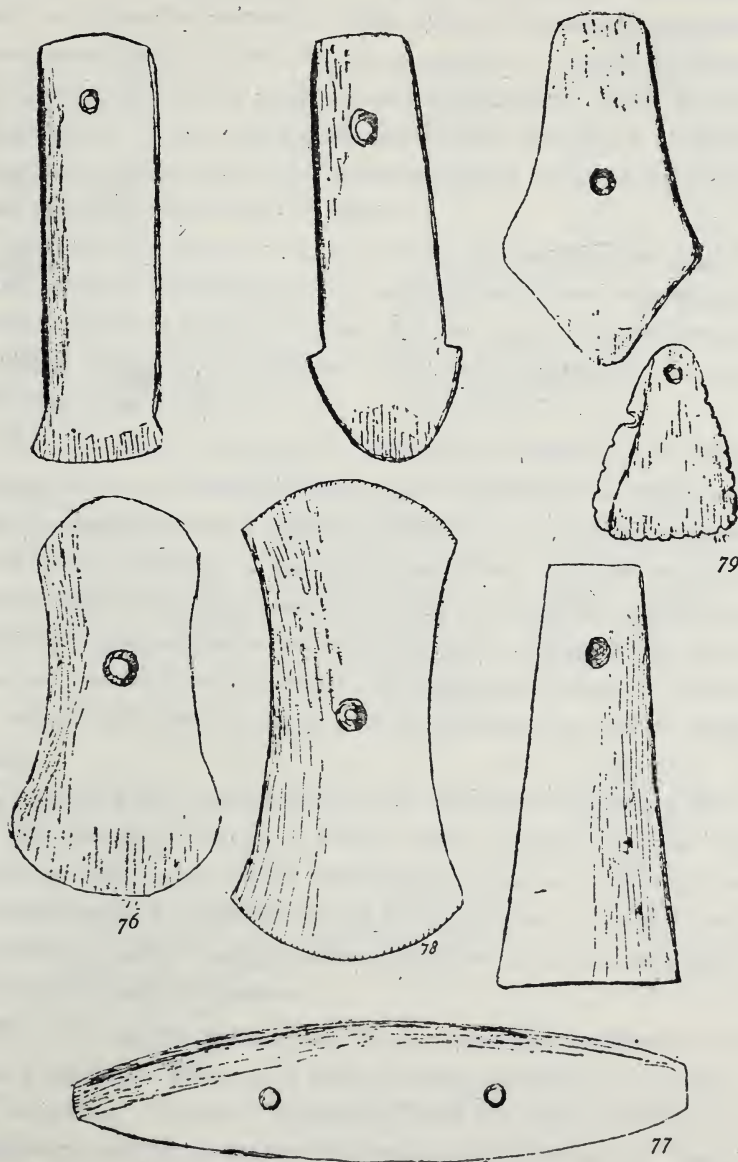
BOAT-SHAPED ARTICLES.—The seven specimens of this class are solid, of conical form and pierced with tapering holes towards the extremities. Four are in the Worden-Warner collection, and are made of a light colored limestone. Of the remaining three one is from Bath (Fig. 10, a), another from Ken-



ton, Ohio, and the last unknown. All are well finished and exhibit no wear. Their purpose appears to have been ornamental.

TUBES.—The Museum contains nineteen specimens of that class described as tubes, varying in length from two to seven inches, cylindrical in form. The Worden-Warner collection

PLATE XII.



contains four specimens, two of which have large bores until near the opposite extremity, when they are suddenly reduced from seven-eighths to one-fourth of an inch. The illustration (b) does not show the bores at both extremities. Their use is enigmatical. It has been conjectured that they were used as spyglasses, while others have maintained that the medicine men used them for exorcising evil spirits.

There are still other forms, but not exactly of the same special class, having a very narrow bore, and appear to have been for an entirely different purpose. One of these (c), partly perforated at either extremity, will indicate the general character. It was probably ornamental.

PIPES.—Every collector of pre-historic remains puts forth special efforts to obtain as many pipes as possible, for this class is a desideratum in any cabinet. Probably more attention has been given them than to any other one class. On this account frauds have been perpetrated to so great an extent that one must handle every specimen with suspicion that is advanced for sale. The practiced eye readily detects the imposition, because it does not afford the marks that can only be produced by age or long usage.

Upon the pipes the aboriginal artist displayed his utmost skill. As the Museum contains a great variety of pipes, and as the study of them is of special importance, because it offered the primitive artist an unlimited scope for the display of his skill and ingenuity, a wider range will here be taken than that accorded to the other classes of relics.

The C. C. Baldwin collection contains fourteen specimens, no two of which are alike, all of which are figured in the accompanying drawings. The first (Plate XIII, 80) is a hard, reddish colored stone, similar to the nucleus sometimes found within "eagle

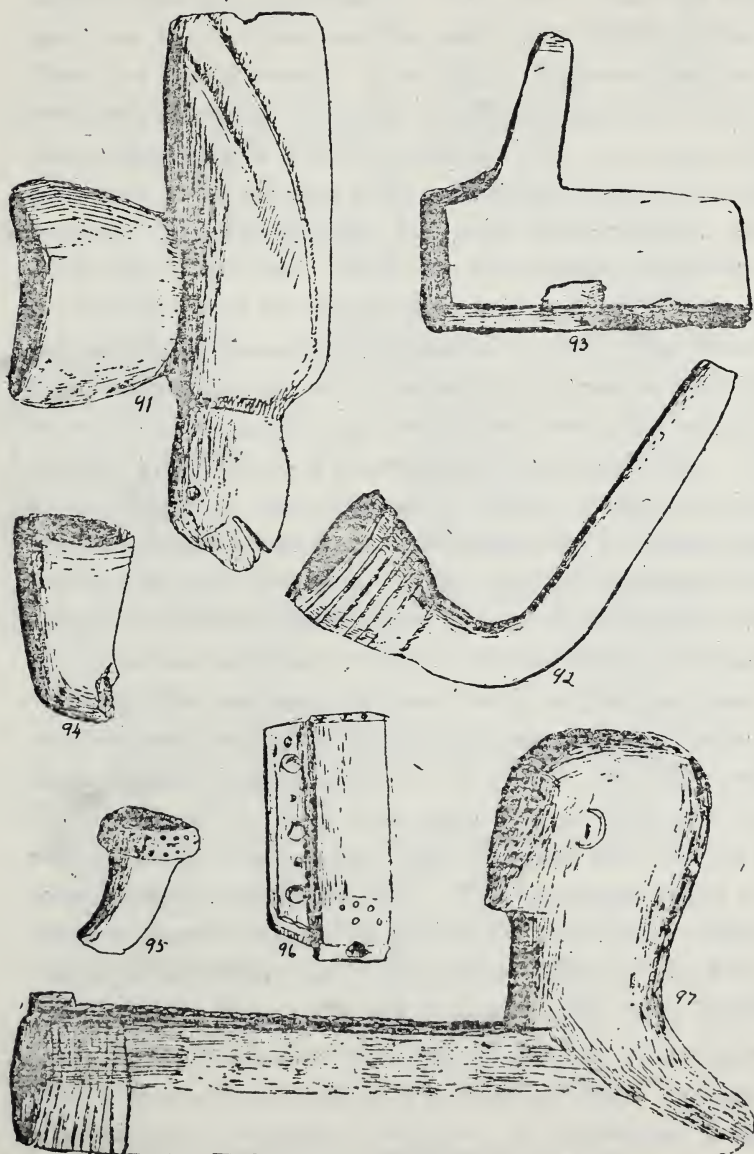
PLATE XIII.



stones." It is from Monroe County, New York, and represents the face of some animal, but not sufficiently distinct to determine it. From the same locality is another (81) of silicious stone, with a depression on the side of the bowl, probably broken off after the pipe had been lost. The one (82) of coarse sandstone has the perforations for both stem and bowl unfinished. Each cavity slants to a point. The top of the stem has thirteen notches on one side and fifteen on the other. Its locality is unknown. The fourth (83), from Troy, Tennessee, made of burnt clay, is plain and of coarse workmanship. The one of coarse sandstone (84), location unknown, is encircled by grooves or rings irregularly placed. The one from Rockport, Ohio, (85), composed of slate, displays some artistic taste. The pipe proper is minus the bowl, and the ornamental part on the stem is but fragmentary. Another (86), from Carroll County, Ohio, made from hard, brown slate, is symmetrical and polished. The eighth (87), of a fine grained dark sandstone, from same county, smooth upon the circular edge, is similarly ornamented on both sides with scroll work and slight cavities. The ninth (88) and tenth (89) from Monroe County, New York, are of thoroughly burned pottery. One is ornamented by scroll work, with the face of a bird. Another (90), from Evansville, Indiana, made of fine grained steatite, is simple in its form. The steatite (Plate XIV, 91), from Posey County, Indiana, is a carving of a grammiverous bird. Another (92), of burnt clay, from Monroe County, New York, has rings around the bowl. The last (93), from White County, Illinois, made of catlinite, is from a plain block, with part of bowl missing. It is quite modern.

Exclusive of those of metal, the D. C. Baldwin collection contains seventeen pipes, which next invite our attention. Some of these are antique and others quite recent, but all of aboriginal

PLATE XIV.



art. Of these two (94, 95) made of pottery, have a little pretention towards ornamentation. One (94) is from the Shelter cave near Elyria, Ohio, and the other from Sheffield, close by. There are two of steatite. One (96), a Chippewa pipe, has the bowl part extending the whole length, but near the base, suddenly converging to a narrow opening. The raised part on the outer face of the pipe has three perforations with small cavities between. The exterior part has scroll work, likewise the interior face of the bowl. While the pipe displays ingenuity, yet the workman does not display an experienced hand. The other (97), also a Chippewa, is a fine piece of carving. The bowl represents a human head, while the end of the stem, on both sides, has raised lines, and the top, on a raised center, has cross-lines. Another group (Plate XV) needs but little explanation. They are all Chippewa, and composed of catlinite, except three (103, 104, 105), which are of fine grained sandstone, two being tinged with red and the other (104) brown. The first (98) has a raised tongue on the stem, characterized by thirty-eight notches, which appear to have been made solely for ornamentation. The second (99) has all its markings fresh and sharp, and still possesses its wooden stem (two feet in length), and has some pretensions towards regular ornamentation. Two others (100, 102), respectively represent the head of an eagle, and the head of a horse, with the bridle. Still another (104), although plain, has the four sides beveled towards the base. The remainder of the D. C. Baldwin pipes are figured in Plate XVI. The largest (106) belonged to the noted chief, Crazy Horse. Near it (107, 108) are two Chippewa pipes. Then follows one (109) from Sheffield, Ohio, of fine sandstone, with stem broken off. On opposite sides of the bowl are a series of parallel markings. A very fine pipe (110), from Hillsdale, Michigan, of greenstone, is highly

PLATE XV.

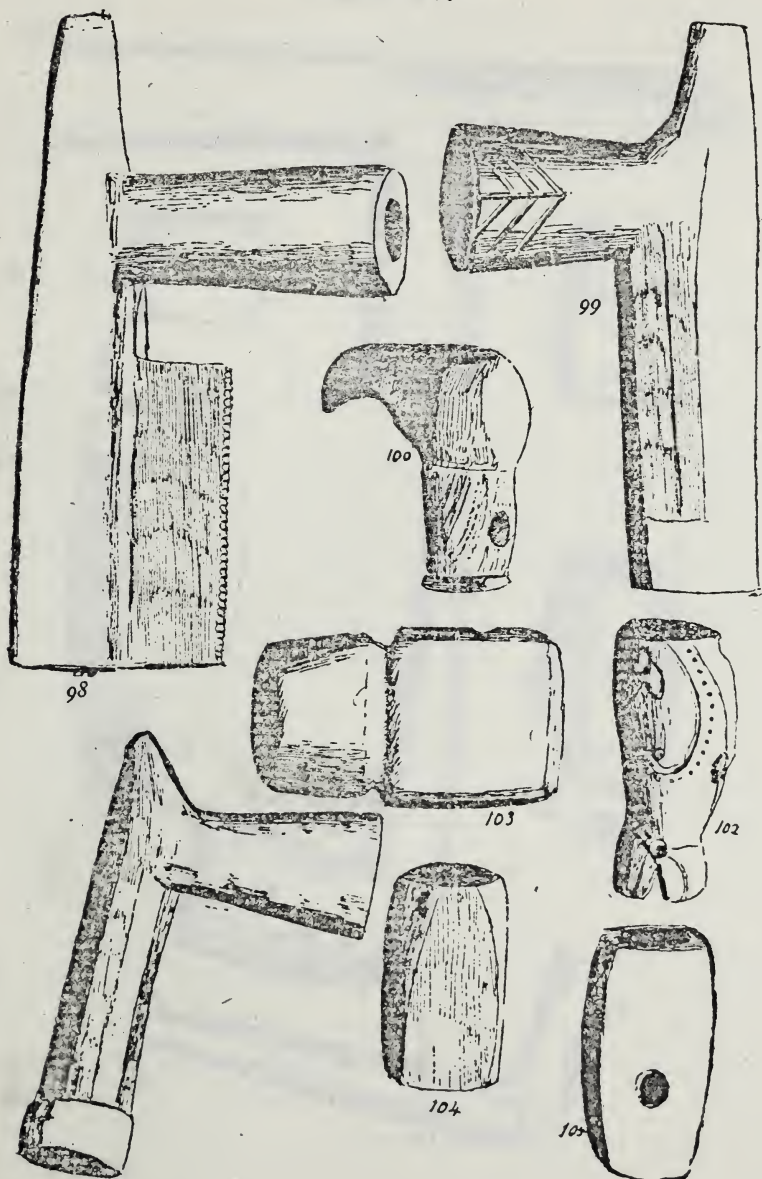
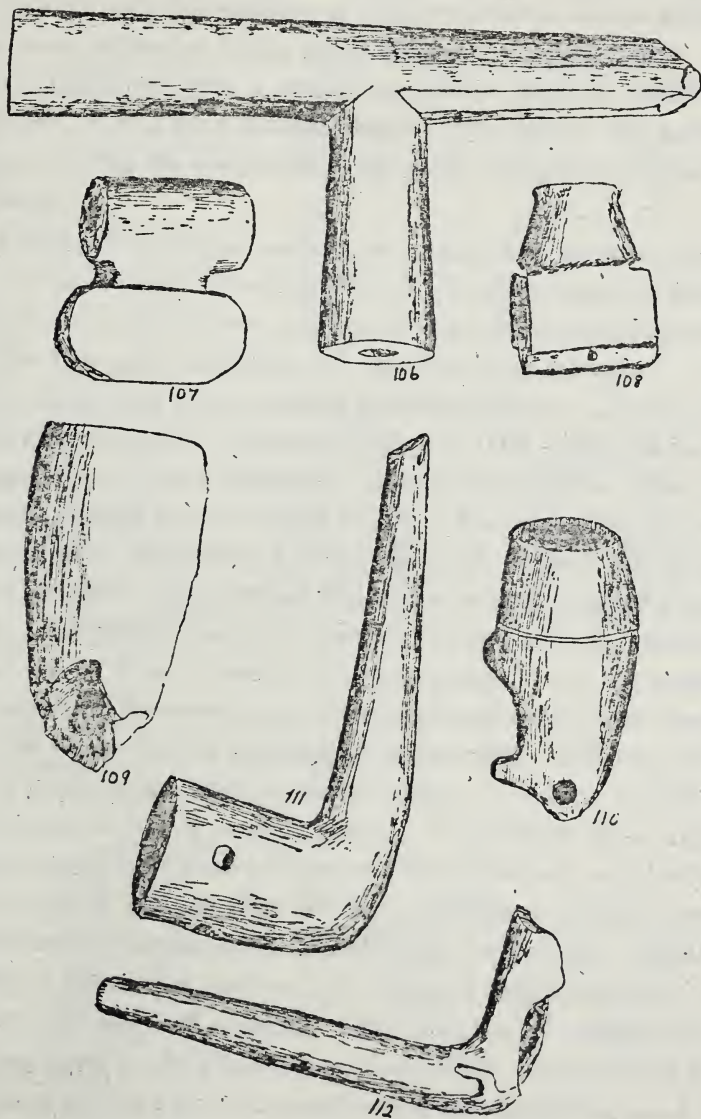


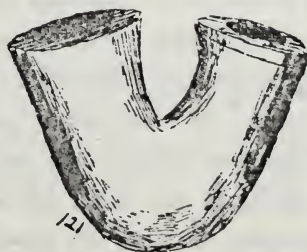
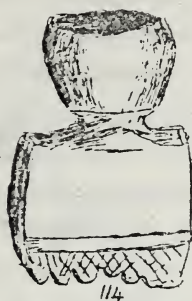
PLATE XVI.



polished, with some effort at ornamentation. A pottery specimen (111), with four cavities, at regular distances on the sides of the bowl, is from an Indian grave in Lorain County, Ohio. The last (112), taken from a mound four miles north of Hamilton, Ontario, is of a hard flintlike stone. The face of the bowl is gone. Along the under side of the stem is the posterior part of a lizard.

The Hatch collection contains ten pipes, all of which are given in the engravings. The first (Plate XVII, 114), found on Drummond's Isle, Lake Huron, made of steatite, is irregularly notched at the base and cross-lines on the same protuberance. The next (115) is of a very coarse grained catlinite. It was purchased from an old Chippewa, August 2, 1868, in the harbor of Superior City, Lake Superior. It still contains the ashes that were in it when taken from his mouth. The next (116) was purchased from Shawanaw, a Chippewa chief, at Sault St. Marie, May 8, 1858. Many persons had endeavored to procure it from him. He greatly disliked to part with it, and when he handed it over, said, "Now I smoke white man's pipe." It has regular scratches on the outer face of the bowl, and on its inner face is a rude effort towards drawing the human face. The next (117) is of catlinite, but with no special marks. Close by it (118) of sandstone is one of peculiar shape. It is drawn to an ovular edge, and on both sides are figures almost identical, with borders on the curve, and the edge notched. A plain one (119) follows, with the stem broken off. It is of a light colored slate. Another (120) of greenstone, with an oval base and bowl cylindrical, is a good specimen well polished. Still another of catlinite (121), purchased of an old Chippewa Indian, in 1858. He took the proceeds of the pipe and purchased whiskey. When reproved for his intemperate habits he replied: "Me too much drunk. Me

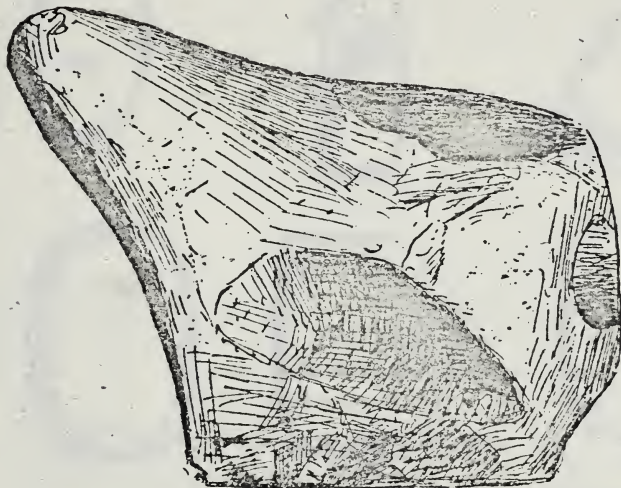
PLATE XVII.



so good big drunk." If the remaining pipe (123, Plate XVIII) is aboriginal, then it has departed so much from other types, and in the physiognomy of the man, so pronounced a European, that the artist must have derived his lessons from the white man. Of its history there is no record.

For the study of pipes the Worden-Warner collection presents the best field. Casting out all doubtful cases, there are sixty-nine specimens, showing all grades of manufacture from the incomplete to the finished pipe, and also all varieties of material from pottery to quartz. This collection exhibits the fact that the stone was shaped before the cavities were made. Of the finished pipes there are eighteen; of the same class, but fragmentary, the number is seventeen, and the rest shows the various grades of incompleteness. While it would be desirable to illustrate all in this cabinet, yet nineteen must suffice. The first (Plate XIX, 124), of sandstone, has been worked in all its parts, but the cavities are not fully rimmed out. It very closely resembles the many perforated net-sinkers in the same cabinet. The next (125) is a light colored slate, complete, as is the following (126) of sandstone. The bowl of another (127) is complete, but the cavity for the stem has not made the connection. This one is of limestone, hard and compact. One of sandstone (128), has the cavities complete, with three notches on the edge. There is a flaw (a) in the stone. The next (129) is a well worked quartzite, slightly mottled. The one of pottery (130) has regular indentations on both sides of the stem. Still another (131) is of quartz, with bowl just started. There is a quartzite (132) representing a perched owl. Neither the eyes nor claws have been started, but a slight perforation was begun for the bowl on top of the neck, but nothing corresponding for the stem. Otherwise the pipe is complete. Of

PLATE XVIII.



122



123

PLATE XIX.



124



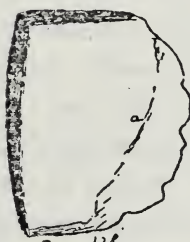
125



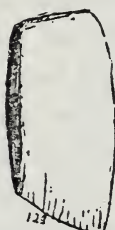
126



127



128



129



130



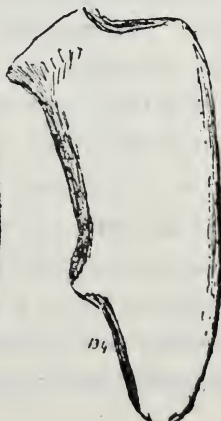
131



132



133



134

the same material (133) and representing the same bird, but less complete is another. Some polishing has been done with the bowl half completed. The next (134) is still more rude, the head gone, and only one spot polished. It is also an owl pipe. Another (Plate XX, 135) gives the owl complete, even to the raised feathers on the head, thus representing the horned owl. It is made from a very hard clay slate of light color. Another owl (137), of conglomerate rock, represented as perched upon a limb, is perfect, save a portion of the head, which is broken off. Apparently the head of a bird (136) is given on the base of one of slate. A rough conglomerate (138) flat on the sides appears to have been completed. There are two good representations of the human face, one (139) is of quartz and the other of clay slate. The latter (140) has markings on the lower lip and chin. The last two are of pottery. One (141) has five elongated cavities around the bowl, while the other has two rows of the same with three cavities in each.

The Johnson collection, from Kelley's Island, in the matter of pipes, as well as in some other things, presents quite a contrast with the Worden-Warner cabinet. Allowing both to be the remains of Indian villages, when the geographical nearness of the two are considered, the greater is the contrast. The Johnson collection has nine specimens and one fragment. Of those made of stone none are complete save one. Of the two large ones of a dark grained slate, one (Plate XXI, 143) barely has the perforations started, while the other (144) has the bowl one-third completed, but the perforation for the stem has not been started. Of the two of sandstone, one (145) has the cavities partly drilled, and the other (146) is in a rough condition with the cavities started. Of the three pottery, one (147) is plain, another (148) has circles at the bowl, and the remaining

PLATE XX.

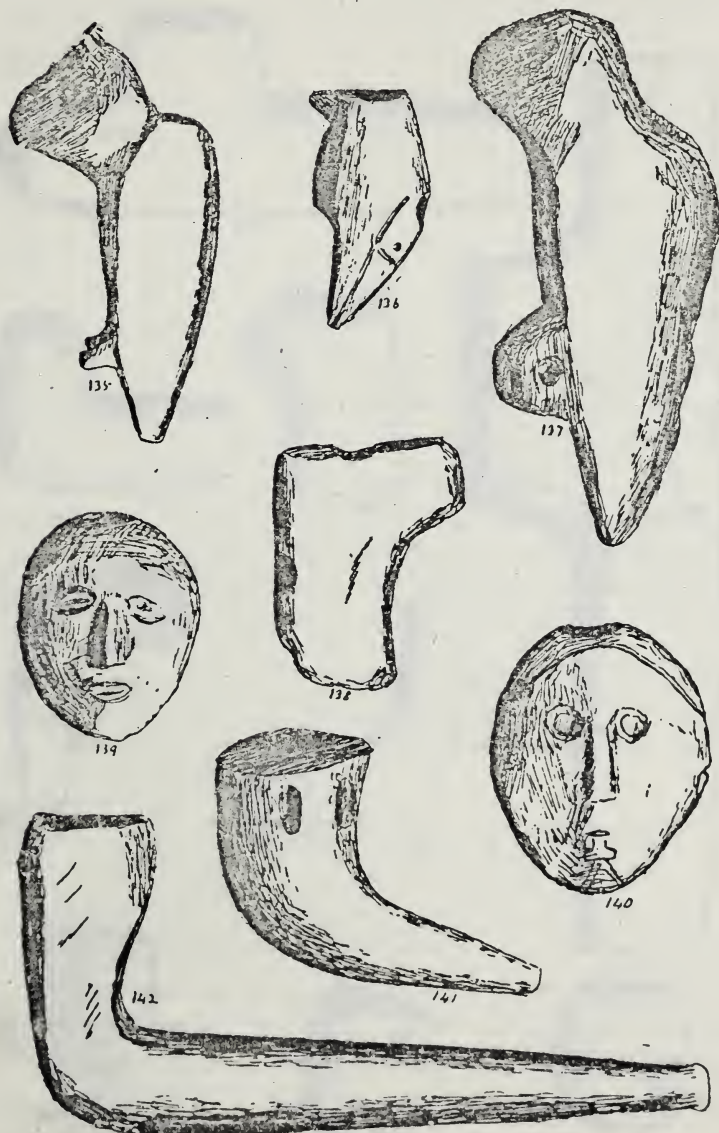
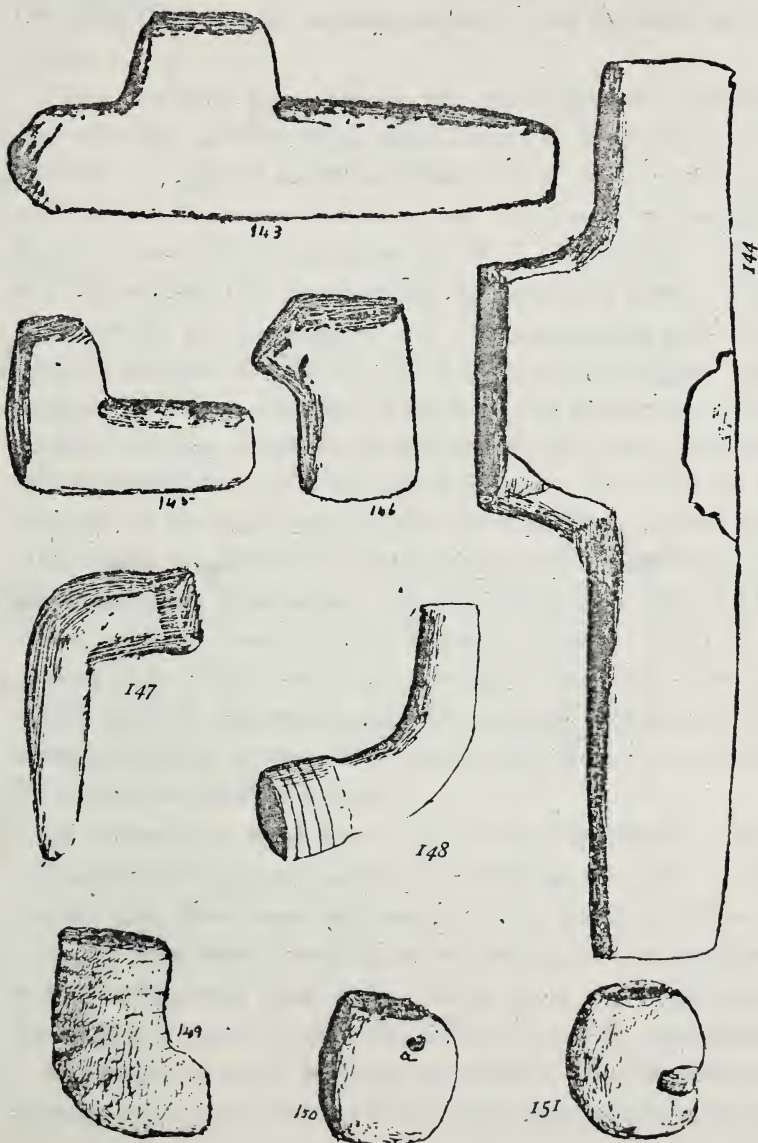


PLATE XXI.



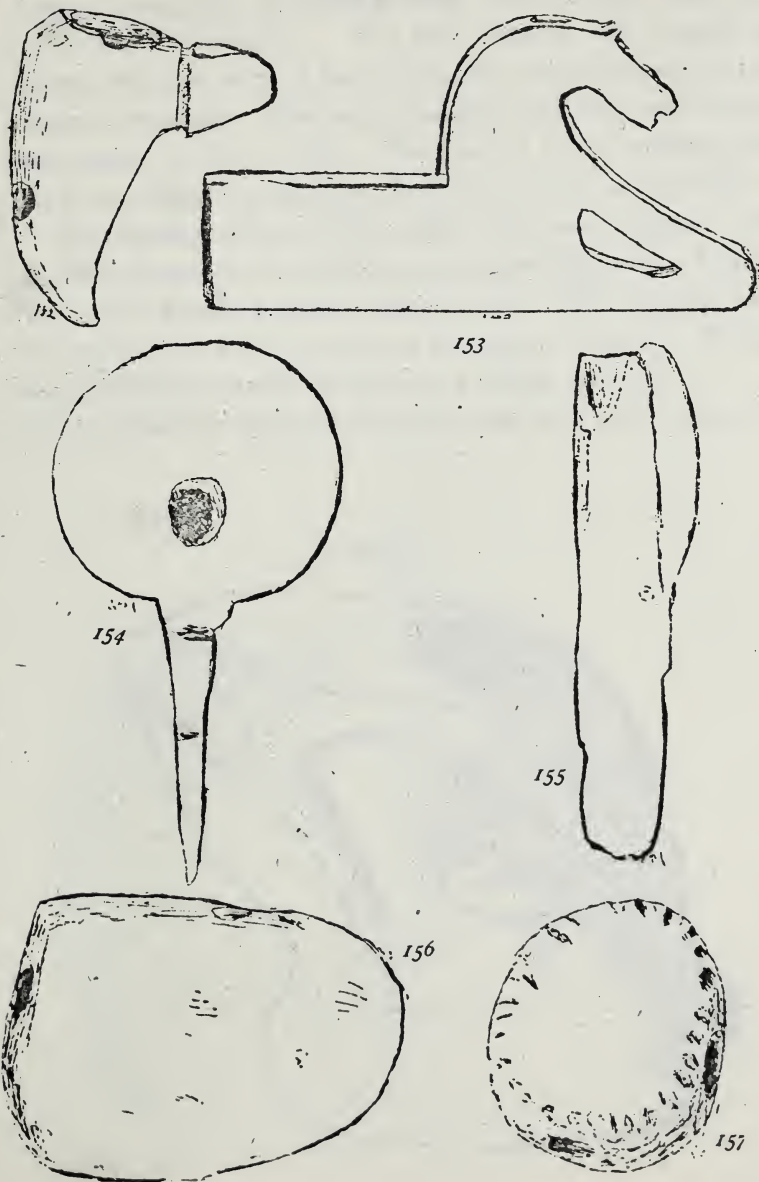
one (149) not only has the grooves, but also cross-lines. The last two are made of quartz, one of which (151) is finished, and the other (150) has its cavities started. Near the bowl (a) is a cavity.

There are nine pipes among the miscellaneous collections, two of which are the large plain Chippewa kind, made from catlinite. A pipe of sandstone (Plate XXII, 152), with a curious knob on the face of the bowl, was found near the mouth of Rocky River (Ohio), and given by Dr. J. P. Kirtland. There is a Sioux pipe (153) representing the head of a horse. None of the edges are rounded off. A very interesting pipe (154), made of catlinite, donated by Dr. Kirtland, was ploughed up in western Missouri. The face of the bowl is a broad, flat circular surface, with the cavity in the center, and the stem extending, in a depressed line, from the circumference. The stem for the insertion of the pipe is under the broad surface. A side view (155) shows the end of the stem notched, and a perforation just under the edge of the circle. An incomplete pipe (156) of limestone, is given from Kelley's Island. Another (157) to be spoken of is a dark sandstone, circular in form, flat sides and broad edge, or circumference. The edge is notched on both sides, and on the surface of the edge are two grooves, connected by a series of lines in groups.

Of all the pipes none are so rare as the mastodontic. Even collectors recognize the futility of searching for them. It is known that they must be discovered by accident. When a collector does secure such a prize his feelings may be imagined, but not adequately described. These pipes are characterized for their large size, compactness and the image of some animal.

The Society has not been so fortunate in securing this class as some others have been; but still other institutions have been

PLATE XXII.

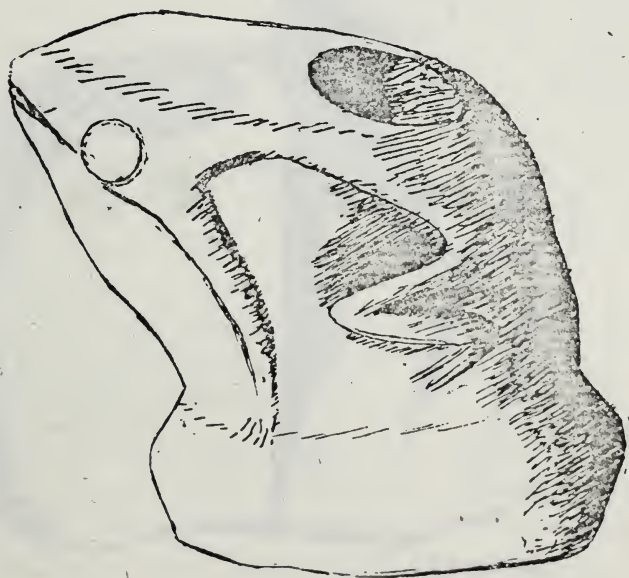


even less fortunate. For general purposes of illustration the cast of a man pipe, the original from Miami County, Ohio, may serve for a description. The man rests on his elbows and knees, with the soles of his feet barely coming together at the farther extremity. The face is marked with lines and the general aspect is that of pain. The bowl is in the middle of the back, and the perforation for the stem is between the knees.

The frog-pipe (Plate XVIII, 122), found near Warsaw, Ohio, in 1851, composed of sandstone, has been badly chipped since it was found, having been in a perfect state. The rimming out of the perforation for the stem has left rings. Owing to its present condition it cannot be taken as a typical specimen.

There are two other pipes which must take their place as be

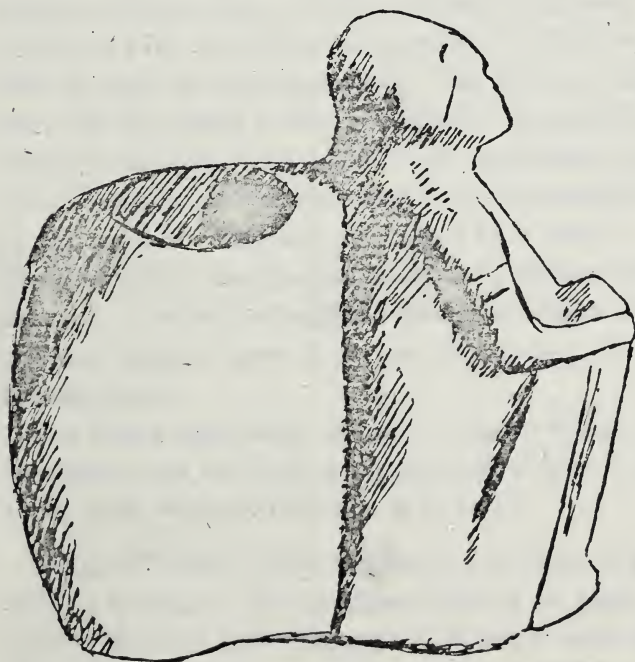
Fig 11



ing among the foremost of the mastodontic class. There are others larger, but not so perfect in their workmanship, and so decided in their expression. The one shall be called the frog and the other the man pipe, both having been found in Ohio.

The frog-pipe (Fig. 11) was found north of Mt. Gilead, Ohio, in 1853. It is made out of a fine grained compact sandstone, and is just as perfect as it was when it left the hands of the sculptor. It weighs two pounds and eleven ounces; greatest length, five and one-half inches; height, four and one-half, and three in breadth. The workman was skilled in his art, understand-

Fig. 12



ing the law of proportion as well as how to bring out all the characteristic features of the amphibian. The spread of the toes, the relative distances of the eyes, are all sharply defined. Much care was placed on the base, even to the beveled edges. The bowl is large, as also is that of the perforation for the stem, the latter showing that a large tube was used for drawing the smoke. For accuracy of drawing, complete preservation, and size, this pipe may be said to be unexcelled.

The man-pipe is certainly unique. The sculptor took a new departure and exhibited himself as a genius. In the mastodontic pipes the effigy forms an integral part of the pipe itself. In this specimen (Fig. 12) the figure is separate and distinct from the pipe. The man is sitting on his haunches, with his hands clasping his knees, all of which is strongly produced. The head is thrown back, with deep carvings over the face, so often met with in pipes of this description. The eyes are rather prominent and the image is that of sadness. Around the neck is a necklace, and over the breast four spearheads, representing those of copper with stems, which have occasionally been found in the mounds. The arm is clasped by a band. It is composed of a hard, fine grained sandstone, differing slightly from that out of which the frog was made. It weighs three pounds and two ounces; greatest length, five inches; height, same; breadth, three.

The fifteen pipes made of plaster, representing as many rare specimens, will not here be considered, although they greatly assist in the study of this class of remains.

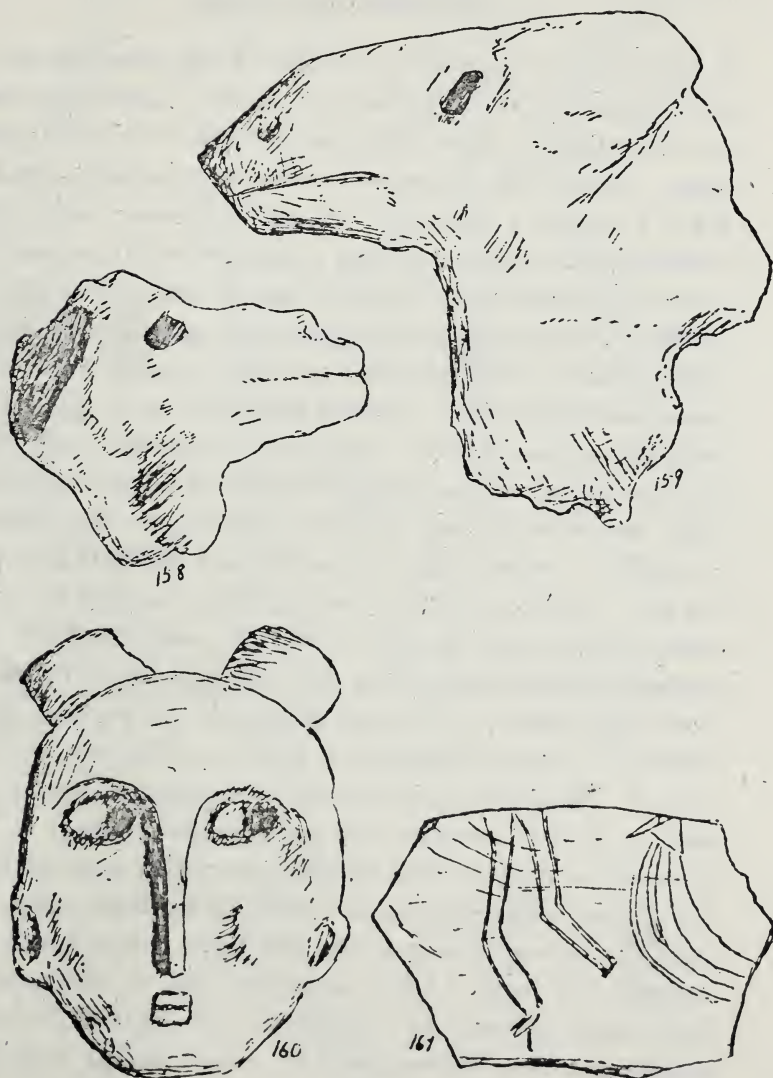
SCULPTURES.—This branch of the question has been indirectly treated in the comments offered on pipes, where the artist's skill was fully displayed. What is now offered must consequently be brief. The Museum does not possess a col-

lection of images that can be compared to the older and more pretentious establishments whose facilities have been greater; yet there are few that boast of sculptures equalling the two images of animal heads (Plate XXIII). Both are made out of a coarse grained sandstone, and bear all appearance to long exposure to the weather. The only history I have been able to secure is that they were taken in 1876 from a depth of two hundred and five feet below the surface at Caledonia, Illinois. One of them (158) is a rude attempt at representing the head of a sheep. The extreme length of the head is six inches, and height of the image four and one-half, while the greatest thickness is two and one-half. The other (159) may be the head of a doe. The length of the head is eight inches, and height of the stone the same. This sculpture exhibits better workmanship than the other. ^{Peter Neff,} The Hatch collection contains a masklike face (160), carved in sandstone, ploughed up in a field in Jackson Township, Coshocton County, Ohio, in 1851. The projections rising from either side of the head appear to have been made for the purpose of being suspended by strings. The same plate shows a fragment of a pictograph (161), on sandstone, found in Lorain County, Ohio.

MICA.

The Mound Builders to some extent engaged in mica mining. Their old trenches have been found in North Carolina, and some of their mica laid away for future use. Mica has been found in the mounds. Of the six sheets in the Museum, one donated by Colonel Whittlesey, taken from a mound near Portsmouth, Ohio, is nine inches in length by seven in breadth. It is in as good condition as it was when taken from its original bed. Another sheet, six by six inches, was found in a mound, in Orange Township, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, January, 1878. It was

PLATE XXIII.

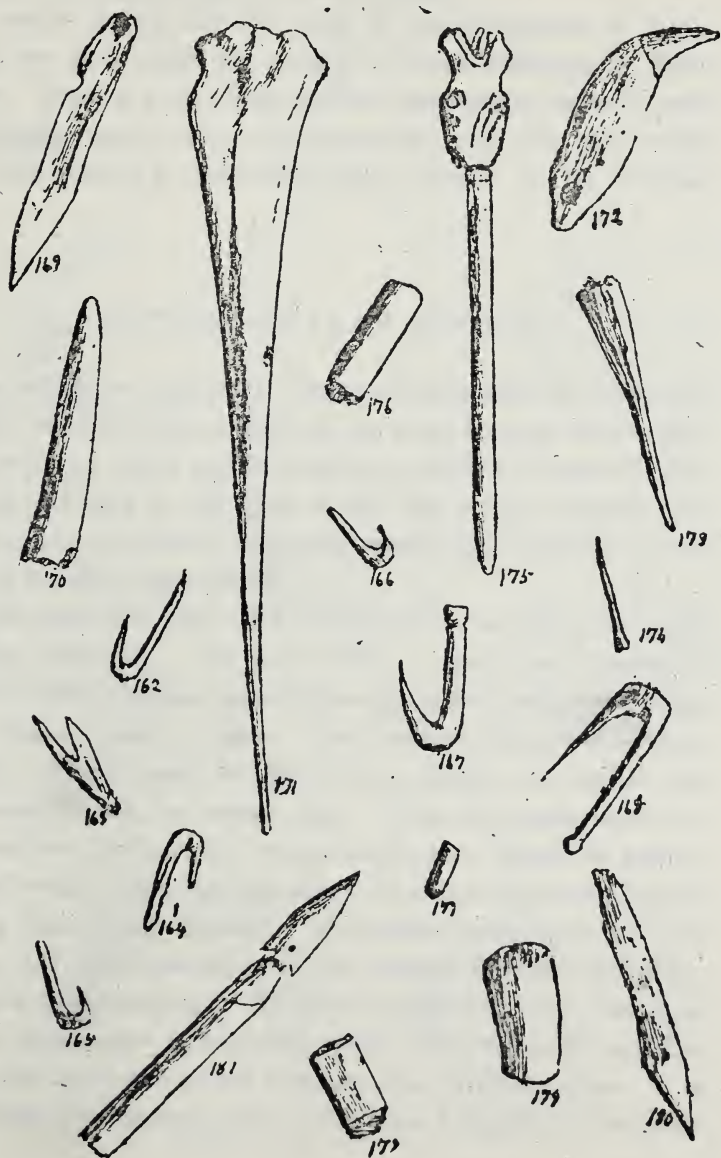


three feet below the original surface of the ground, and upon it rested a human skull.

BONE IMPLEMENTS.

The Museum may be said to be strong in its collection of bone implements. Since the heading of this paragraph was written, Hon. D. C. Baldwin has added to his previous donation 51 bone implements, 69 shell ornaments, 210 colored glass beads, three cornered, 7 copper ornaments, 4 strings of beads or wampum, 12 arrow heads, 1 axe and 1 hatchet; from Brindleton, North Carolina, Stanley Mound, Cross County, Arkansas, Bolton, Lake George and Cayuga County, New York, Sheffield, Ohio, Santa Barbara, California, Columbia River, Oregon, Madison County, New York, and Mexico. These specimens make a very fine collection in themselves. The accompanying plate (XXIV) illustrates some of the classes of bone implements, all of which, save one, are from the D. C. Baldwin collection. Fishing hooks (162-168) bear the same relative pattern. Three of these (162-164) are quite delicate and finely finished. All are from Sheffield, Ohio. Different kinds of perforators or bodkins (169-171, 173, 174, 180, 181), used for piercing in the sewing of garments are also interesting features. It is more than probable that one (171) was used in adjusting the hair. Another (181) has the appearance of having been a fish spear. It, however, is modern, having come from western Siberia. Bone (176-178), when perforated, was also used as beads or wampum. The canine tooth of the bear was sometimes perforated, and then placed upon a string and used suspended around the neck. The specimen in the illustration (172) is from the Worden-Warner collection. In comparison with these is another relic (175) from ancient Rome. It was probably used as a hairpin.

PLATE XXIV.



It is made of ivory. It is accompanied by five other finely wrought specimens from the same locality.

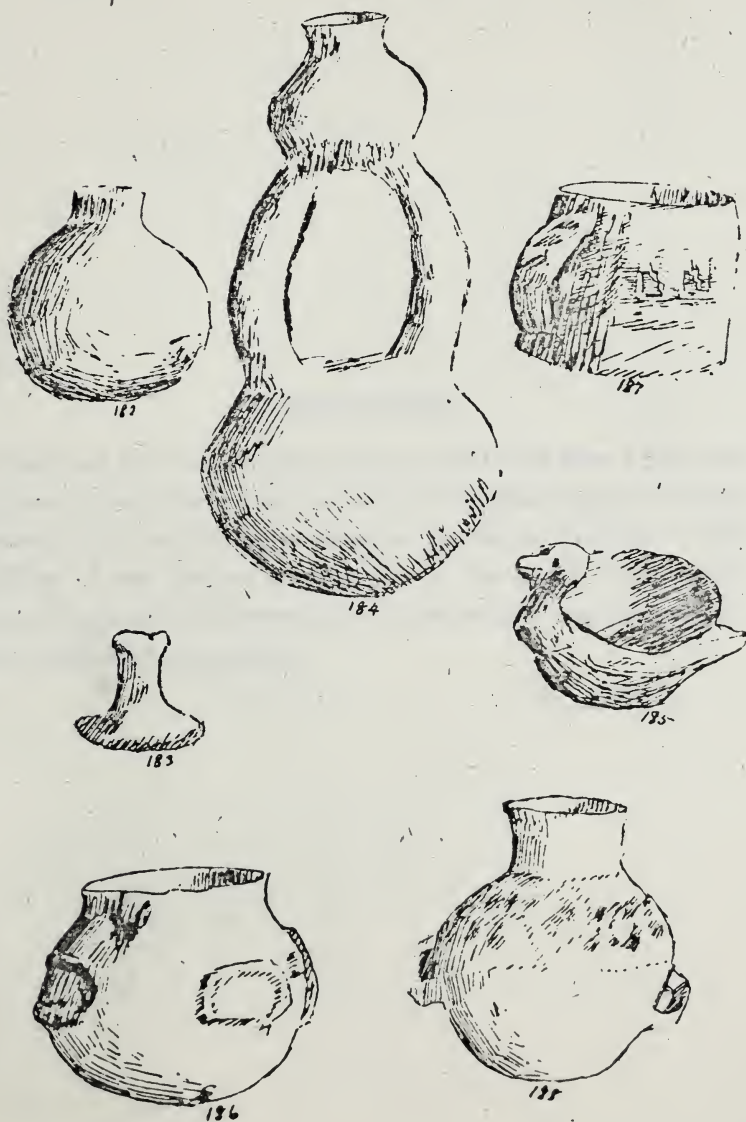
A notice should also be made of the ornaments of shells, which are also many, but mostly of those belonging to fresh water. There is a very large *Bysicon perversum*, probably used for dipping water, found in conjunction with the skull taken from the mound at Marshall's Ferry, Illinois, on the Wabash river.

POTTERY OR CLAY VESSELS.

The collection of pottery, composed principally of a mixture of clay and the crushed shell of the unio, is large and varied. The perfect or nearly perfect vessels—exclusive of recent Pueblo pottery—varying in size from a half pint to four gallons, are eighty-seven in number. Properly treated the collection would make a fair sized monograph.

In the appended plate (XXV), all but two are from the C. C. Baldwin collection. The first (182), to which is attached a stopper (183) is a plain vessel, three and a half inches in height, from White County, Indiana. And the next (184), from Posey County, without ornament, ten inches in height, is a double vessel connected by two hollow arms. From the same county is still another (186), rudely ornamented, four inches in height. A small vessel (185), duck-shaped, five inches in extreme length, is also from Posey County. In contrast with these are two others (187, 188), belonging to the Baldwin-Baldwin collection, from the Cliff-Dwellings. The first is a pitcher, three inches in height, ornamented in black and white, with one handle, and the other, five and a half inches in height, has double handles. It is ornamented on the upper part of the bowl, but plain on the neck.

PLATE XXV.

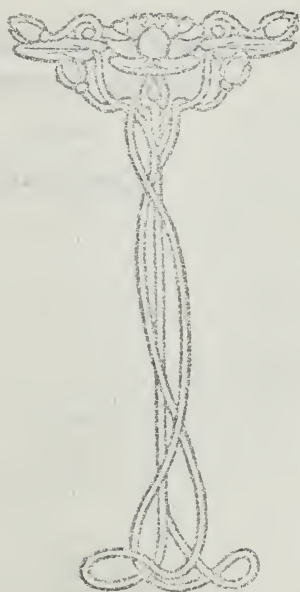


CONCLUSION.

What has thus imperfectly been set forth will give a fair conception of the value of the collection of archaeological remains possessed by the Western Reserve Historical Society. The building of the Society is open free to the public every week day, and special facilities are afforded those who may be interested in American antiquities.

The
WESTERN RESERVE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

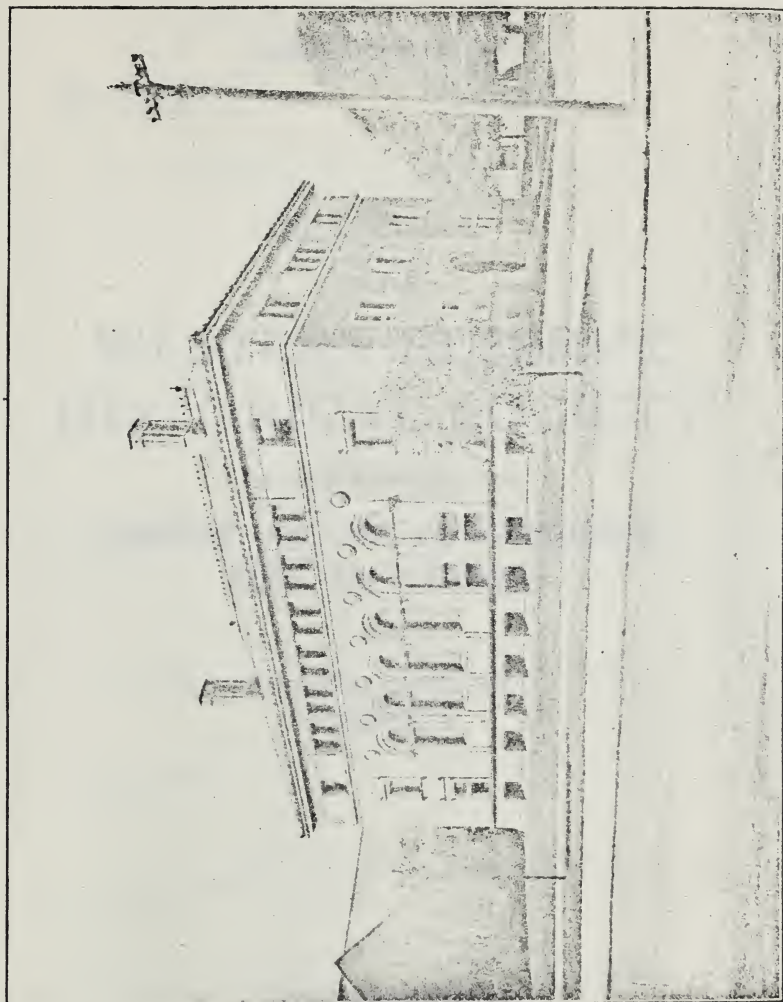
ESTABLISHED 1867
NEW CHARTER 1892



A people who become indifferent to their history soon lose their national spirit. The backbone of a Nation's prosperity lies deeply imbedded in the interest in its annals and customs which engender true patriotism, and make solidity of national character. History can be sought and taught only by the careful preservation of both its original and secondary material.

THE WESTERN RESERVE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TRACT NO. 91



THE SOCIETY'S BUILDING

TRACT NO. 91
THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ISSUED SEPTEMBER, 1907

MANUAL
OF THE
WESTERN RESERVE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

GIVING A SUMMARY OF ITS
HISTORY, ORGANIZATION, CONDITION
AIMS AND PURPOSES
AND
ITS SERVICES TO THE
COMMUNITY

CLEVELAND, OHIO
1907

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS FOR 1907-8

PRESIDENT

Wallace Hugh Cathcart

VICE PRESIDENTS

John D. Rockefeller

Jacob Perkins

David C. Baldwin

Orlando J. Hodge

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

Albert L. Withington

TREASURER

Edwin V. Hale

RECORDING SECRETARY

Warren S. Hayden

CURATOR

Albion M. Dyer

FINANCE COMMITTEE

Ambrose Swasey

S. Prentiss Baldwin

C. W. Bingham.

Warren S. Hayden

David Z. Norton

TRUSTEES

Term expiring May, 1908

A. T. Brewer

Jeptha Homer Wade

C. A. Grasselli

Term expiring May, 1909

Ralph King

Douglas Perkins

David Z. Norton

Term expiring May, 1910

Albert L. Withington

Elroy M. Avery

Ambrose Swasey

Term expiring May, 1911

Charles W. Bingham

Henry C. Ranney

James Barnett

Term expiring May, 1912

S. Prentiss Baldwin

Webb C. Hayes

Liberty E. Holden

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The beginnings of this Society may be traced back to the year 1811, at which time Cleveland was a village of fifty-seven people, eighteen families.

In this pioneer community were six- **Antecedents**
teen men ready to form a library asso-

ciation and thus the beginning was made. They were, William Gaylord, Abijah Hewit, James Kingsbury, Alfred Kelley, John Lanterman, David Long, Daniel Mosher, Elias Murray, Harvey Murray, Nathan Perry, James Root, George Wallace, John Walworth, Samuel Williamson, Mathew Williams, Stephen King.

The years following were hard ones, and there were breaks in the continuity, but in various forms a library society or lyceum continued and in 1848 when the Cleveland Library Association was chartered a considerable collection of books had accumulated. This Charter was amended in 1867 to provide for the organization of the Western Reserve Historical Society, and it was formed as the Historical Department of the Cleveland Library Association (now Case Library).

The amended article of the Charter of the Cleveland Library Association which provided the original basis for the Western Reserve Historical Society read as follows:

Charter

"SECTION 1. Historical and scientific departments of this association may be organized upon the written application of ten members, who, with their associate members in such department, shall, for the management of the same, elect a board of nine curators.

"SECTION 2. After the first election three members of said board shall be elected annually, all of whom shall hold office until others are elected to succeed them. Said board shall elect a president of said department and three vice presidents and such other officers as may be required by the by-laws of this

association, and shall make report of their proceedings to the board of directors ten days previous to the annual election of this association."

This close connection with the Cleveland Library Association continued until 1892, when an independent charter was obtained and the society reorganized under it, as follows:

STATE OF OHIO

These Articles of Incorporation of

THE WESTERN RESERVE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Witnesseth, That we, the undersigned, all of whom are citizens of the State of Ohio, desiring to form a corporation not for profit, under the general corporation laws of said State, do hereby certify:

FIRST. The name of said corporation shall be The Western Reserve Historical Society.

SECOND. Said corporation shall be located and its principal business transacted at the City of Cleveland, in Cuyahoga County, Ohio.

THIRD. The purpose for which said corporation is formed is not profit, but is to discover, collect and preserve whatever relates to the history, biography, genealogy and antiquities of Ohio and the West; and of the people dwelling therein, including the physical history and condition of that State; to maintain a museum and library, and to extend knowledge upon the subjects mentioned by literary meetings, by publication and by other proper means.

In Witness Whereof, We have hereunto set our hands, this seventh day of March, A. D. 1892.

Henry C. Ranney,	Charles C. Baldwin,
D. W. Manchester,	David C. Baldwin,
Amos Townsend,	Percy W. Rice,
William Bingham,	Jas. D. Cleveland,
A. T. Brewer.	

The Western Reserve Historical Society originated in 1867 as The Reserve Historical Department of the Cleveland Library Association (now Case Library). It flourished in that relationship, and the enlightened generosity and prudent care of the joint trustees established it in full confidence and high

esteem of the people of the Western Reserve. It became the safe repository for relics, records, specimens, documents, pioneer mementoes, heirlooms, letters, deeds and papers, maps and surveys, coins, pictures, books, etc., pertaining to the settlement and growth of Ohio. Men of zeal, genius and ability stood round the society and gave to it their strength and substance so that it now ranks as one of the richest in its possessions of the local societies of America.

The Society was planned by C. C. Baldwin and he imparted to it some of the characteristics of his own sterling nature. It was so organized that its work and its accumulations should never by any chance be dissipated through the failure of support. The Western Reserve Historical Society has continued to the present time with the characteristic civic pride and conservatism that marked the career of its distinguished founder. It is housed in a beautiful building where all is safe and in a situation where it should command the respect and support of the entire city, and indeed of the State as well.

The following names are associated with the first year of the Society's existence as organizers or as members:

Founders
of the
Society

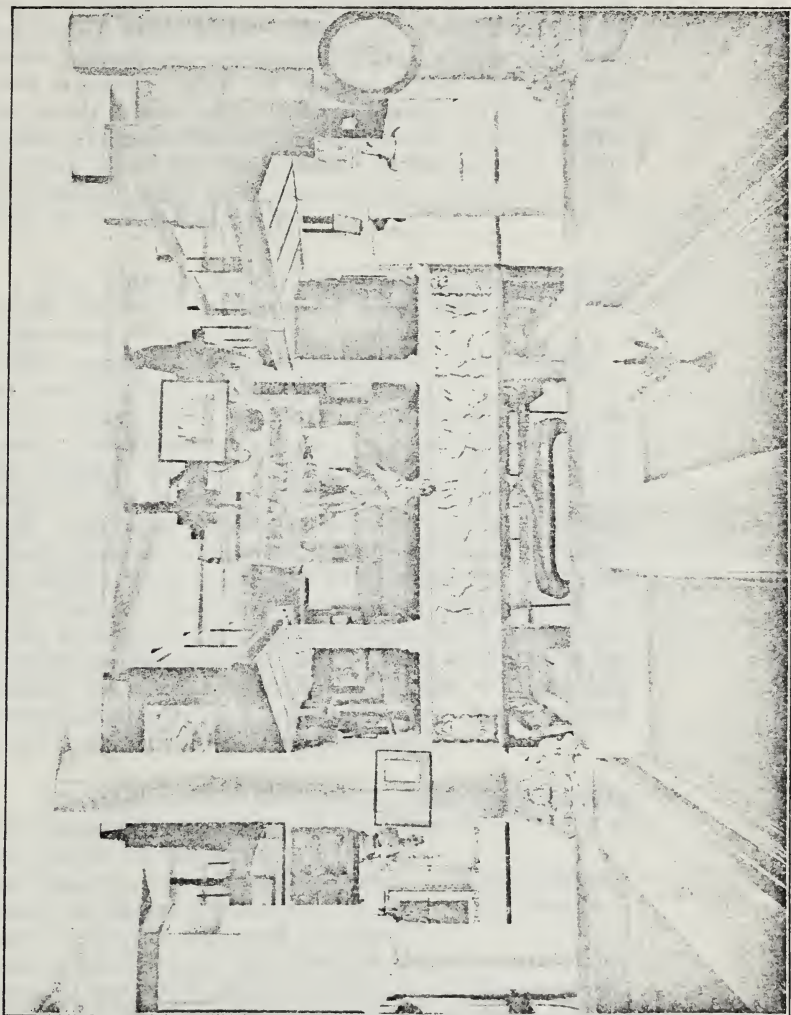
M. B. Scott	C. C. Baldwin
W. N. Hudson	Harvey Rice
E. R. Perkins	L. E. Holden
George R. Tuttle	F. M. Backus
Samuel Starkweather	Joseph Ireland
Joseph Perkins	J. S. Kingsland
Charles Whittlesey	Peter Thatcher
Samuel Williamson	George Willey
George Mygatt	W. P. Fogg
C. T. Sherman	Henry A. Smith
S. V. Willson	J. H. A. Bone
Jacob H. Smies	H. B. Tuttle
A. T. Goodman	T. R. Chase
J. D. Cleveland	John D. Crehoe
John H. Sargeant	H. M. Chapin
J. C. Buell	D. H. Beardsley
C. W. Sackrider	G. C. F. Hayne
A. K. Spencer	P. H. Babcock

John F. Warner made the first great gift, a legacy of \$500, which came to the Society in its infancy.

William J. Gordon was an early and **Good Friends** generous friend. Joseph Perkins made liberal contributions. By far the most liberal friend was Leonard Case, not only with funds, but with gifts of his finest Americana. Charles Whittlesey served the Society faithfully and well during his active life, and at his death bestowed upon it his great collection of books and pamphlets. Judge Baldwin's gifts were numerous and noble, the finds of a life-long search for material, and these have been supplemented since by many contributions in his name. A. T. Goodman devoted many years to the work of the Society and at his death gave to it his magnificent collection of autographs. R. M. Stimson of Marietta, while State Librarian filled up our collections of state publications, giving a number of rare and interesting pamphlets of the early years of Ohio. The various changes in the Society developed timely help from many sources, notably the purchase of the old home of the Society on the Public Square, and the erection of the beautiful building now occupied by the Society on University Circle. Amos Townsend, John D. Rockefeller, J. H. Wade, H. C. Ranney and L. E. Holden should be noted especially. A list of these friends is practically a list of the first families of this city.

The Society owns and occupies the building on Euclid Avenue at University Circle, opposite Wade Park and the College Campus, one of

The Building the picture-points of the city. This location is rapidly coming into prominence and its value as real estate has greatly increased since our site was purchased. The building is fire-proof, modern in equipment and construction and well suited to the uses of the Society. The rear of our lot, 80 feet frontage on Fairmount Ave., is unoccupied, and this gives ample room for expansion when necessary. Since the grounds are within the park area the walks and lawns are cared for by the Park Department. The exterior aspect of the building is attractive and comports well with the character of the Society and



MUSEUM, Main Floor

the environment. Inside everything is pleasant and convenient, the museum is imposing, the library quiet and comfortable, and the auditorium satisfactory for the uses of the Society. There are a number of small rooms suitable for special collections, and in the basement a roomy vault for storing books and material that needs special care. Recent changes in the growth of this section of the city, the expansion of the colleges, the opening of the Art School and the erection of the Art Gallery seem to be all working together for the betterment of our location.

The Western Reserve Historical Society has received from the pioneers of Ohio and from their descendants a large quantity of curios, relics, specimens of the mound-build- **The Museum** ers and Indians, mementoes of the border wars and of the pioneer settlements, coins, pictures, photographs, arms, etc., in great variety and of the liveliest interest. These articles cover a wide range of the sciences; ethnology, anthropology, geology, geography, zoölogy, etc., etc. To a certain extent these accumulations are classified and arranged for display but the greatest number are not yet ready to be shown. Such a museum, with the materials on hand, arranged by scientific methods and logical classification would attract attention as one of the most important institutions of the United States. The benefit to the community of a museum of this character is so great that it cannot be overestimated.

It may be well, at this point, to enumerate some of the important attractions of the Museum: Relics of the homes of the early settlers of the Reserve; instruments and docu- **Some Features of the Museum** ments of Moses Cleaveland and the early surveyors; relics of the aborigines picked up on the Western Reserve by the first comers; war relics of the expeditions of Rogers, Bradstreet and Bouquet; the campaigns against the Miami Indians; the War of 1812, especially the march to Fort Meigs and Perry's victory; of the Civil and Spanish-American War and of the colonial services of Ohio soldiery. Collections of anthropology, ethnology, etc.,

gathered by citizens of the Western Reserve. Coins, medals, paper money, political badges, mementoes. Flags and implements of war representing Ohio military life. Articles deposited by the civic and patriotic organizations, colleges, etc., of Cleveland and Northern Ohio. Articles illustrating the topography, geology, palaeontology, mineralogy, etc., of the Cuyahoga Valley and Lake region.

By means of legacies, donations, and by purchases, supplemental thereto, extending over a period of forty years, the Society has accumulated a spec-

Library ialized library of great importance. If the size alone is considered, as we may see from the report of the American Historical Association, it compares favorably with the older and well endowed historical societies of the East. But numbers give very little idea of the true strength of our library. Our collection of source books of history relating to the Northwest Territory and especially to Ohio is practically complete. In genealogy it is well supplied with the books and papers needed for active searchers. In statistical publications of the State and Municipality we have everything in the order of publication. The entire library is now being put in order so that each department will be serviceable to members and to special workers.

Very important among the books is the series of volumes of early travel owned by the Society. These

are the published notes of adventurers who made the perilous trip from
Travels in the **Ohio Valley** Pittsburg to Cincinnati or Louisville
by land or water. The accounts of the wonderful things they saw of man and nature, and the experiences they met with, were eagerly sought in the East and in England and France. Men were longing for habitation in this marvelous Valley of the River Ohio, a river of such striking beauty that it was so named, "The Beautiful River," in all the languages of the rival races of men that claimed the region as their own. These books followed each other rapidly during the years before 1825 and some go back as far as 1750. Their value as sources of history is very

high. They are now very scarce and it would not be possible to find all of them, or indeed, a few of them, in many libraries. The Society has practically a complete set of the original editions of these English and French works.

The work of the Historical Society from the beginning took the form of searching out, and collecting material, and of preserving, arranging, displaying, and publishing the fruits of its research. In all these activities it has been signally successful. Its men went forth on the strength of its resources and in the power of its prestige and gathered up great treasure of relics, records, manuscripts, books and papers at a time when these things were obtainable at first hand, and which otherwise might have been lost. The Society has held these treasures in trust for the future. It has the material for a historical museum of great importance illustrating the aboriginal and pioneer life of Ohio and the Ohio Valley. It possesses the complete record in MSS. of the survey and settlement of the Western Reserve. It owns a collection of maps and books, pamphlets, newspapers, documents and official reports covering the political, financial, commercial growth, of Ohio especially, and more generally of the great Middle West. To these collections the student and historian must surely come to learn of these wonderful movements.

The Society made an early start in publishing the material that came to hand. The publications took the form of "Tracts" prepared in the natural course of the activity of its members in their early search of Ohio history. The pioneers, Indian remains, border troubles, wars, and local geography were the subjects of greatest interest and the output of the Western Reserve Historical Society in these lines is of importance. At first the tracts were modest leaflets printed from forms taken from the columns of the Cleveland newspapers whose publishers were eager to print the proceedings of the Society in full. They were issued through the coöperation of the newspapers at little expense to the

Society. The tracts found immediate favor, and some of them had to be reprinted. They increased in number and size and some contained costly plates and maps. After a time the Society began to realize the importance of these tracts and they were then issued in volumes. Three such volumes bound in uniform style have been published, and there are a number of tracts ready to make a fourth. These bound volumes were furnished free to members, and sent to all societies in exchange for valuable publications, which were added to the library. Now the editions of the earlier tracts are exhausted, and still they are in constant demand. The time seems to be at hand when the Society should prepare to replenish certain tracts in new editions with carefully prepared notes and indexes.

Through the instrumentality of this Society the papers of General Arthur St. Clair were discovered, purchased and published by the State of Ohio, in two large volumes. The **Special Publications** Margry papers, a series of volumes containing the documents of La Salle, were published by the United States Government through the efforts of this Society. The journals of Trent, Heath and Brule pertaining to the Ohio region were issued indirectly through this Society, and from materials in our archives.

The richest treasures of the Society are its manuscripts. Most important of these are the records of the Connecticut Land Company and its **Manuscripts** instructions to agents and surveyors. Next are the field-books and daily records and sketches made by the surveyors at work on the Reserve. Then the finished manuscript plats and finally the official survey map. Almost of equal importance are the papers and records left by the original holders of lands who settled at the various centers. These have been turned over to the Society for preservation. They are replete with material information of the early days and early settlements of the Reserve. There are also many letters and documents relating to the Indian troubles on the border and the War of 1812. Some of these have been published by

the Society; others have been mounted and listed and the lists published, but there are large deposits of papers, etc., which are still to be examined and published when time and means will allow.

Certain manuscripts not yet classified and arranged deserve a moment's thought. These are the papers of Col. Whittlesey representing the great range of action in which his life was spent and his intimate connection with the economic development of Ohio and the Lakes' ore region. Among these papers are hundreds of pamphlets on which Col. Whittlesey has made marginal notations. Second in importance are the papers of George Tod; the Wolcott papers; the papers of Ephraim Root; a large number of record books and letters of the early citizens of Cleveland, many of which have never been examined; scrap books containing many historical notes on subjects in which Col. Whittlesey was interested have all been given to the Society. There are besides, a large number of copies of official papers of other libraries, made for the Society, such as the military correspondence of Gen. Harmar, the orderly books and journals of Captain Trent and Captain Heart, and the record of the captivity of John Fitch among the Delaware Indians.

The collections of historical maps and atlases are notably fine. These cover the entire range of history from the sixteenth century to the present day. They consist of:

1. The classic maps in original examples of the work of the great cartographers of Amsterdam, London, and Paris. They are classified to show the development of knowledge of the Great Lakes and the Ohio River, as based upon the returns of voyagers to the Royal Geographical Societies of France and England.
2. Maps designed by the explorers themselves and published in their works; with few exceptions these are originals, but we have also almost a complete line of reprints.
3. Maps issued to illustrate standard books of travel and history. These cover the period of opening

up of the great wilderness of the Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky frontier.

4. Political maps representing the rival claims of New France or British America to the Ohio Valley.
5. War maps of the Revolution and the border wars.
6. Maps for the tourist and emigrant of the pioneer period.
7. Colonial maps based on first surveys and political development of Ohio.
8. Wall maps and atlases of the various counties and cities of the Western Reserve.

No more extensive and complete collection can be found in any American library. They are all well arranged and listed so that they may be displayed under glass on occasion for the benefit of students in the colleges and high schools. It is hoped that in the near future the Society may be able to publish a list of its maps.

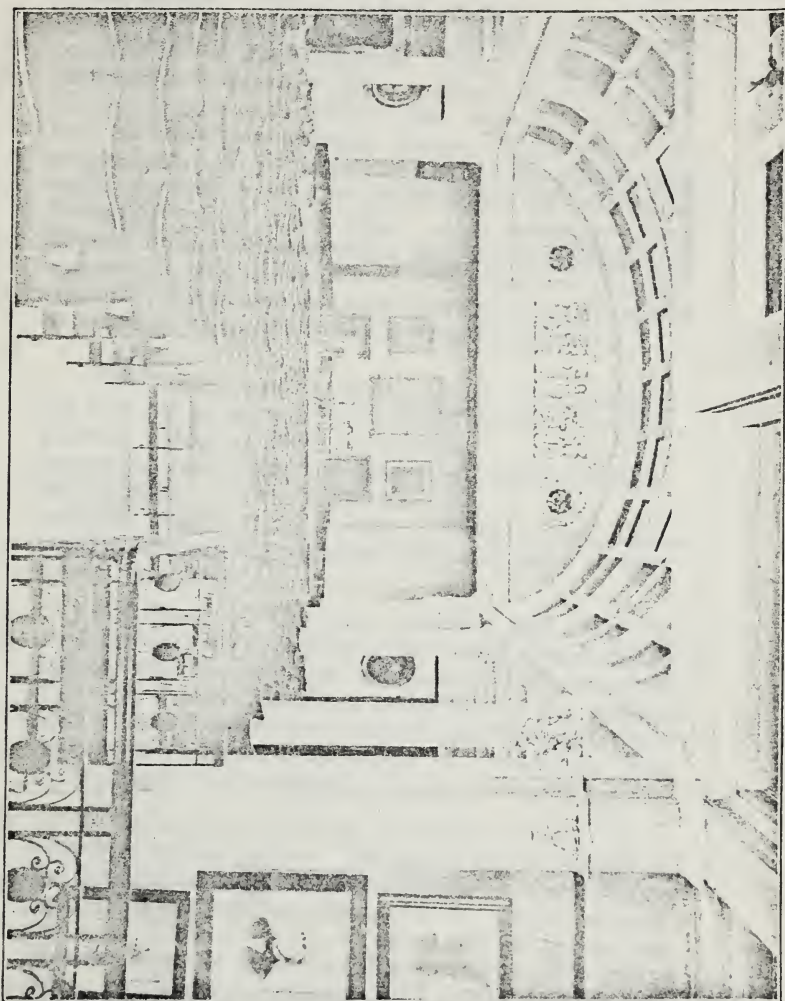
The Society has a large collection of books and periodicals useful to workers in genealogy. These are so arranged as to be of service to

Genealogy all who seek, even without experience in such work, for information of their ancestors. There are:

1. The general reference books and dictionaries of genealogy.
2. Files of the *New England Register* with index, and other periodicals.
3. Family histories, over 800 names, in alphabetical order on open shelves.
4. Town records, and local histories covering New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New Jersey, Maryland, North and South Carolina, etc.
5. Rosters of the several wars, Pension Rolls, Year Books of the Patriotic Societies.

No library, except in New York, Massachusetts, Philadelphia, and Chicago has a larger equipment of books in this line.

Our collection of newspapers is most important. It embraces not only the local field, but many states



AUDITORIUM, Third Floor

and cities are represented. Unbroken files of Cleveland newspapers is the **Newspapers** strong feature. These are kept strictly up to date, in bound volumes, through the generous coöperation of the publishers. Most of these are in duplicate and thus our files are secure for future uses. Early Journals of Northern Ohio, especially the Western Reserve, are valuable items. These cover the pioneer years of our history and reflect the political and social conditions of the great westward movement following the War of 1812. Our newspapers are housed in the basement where they are all arranged on shelves for easy consultation. Here also are the government publications and statistics, and large quantities of unclassified material which must be arranged.

The Society has a complete set of views representing this city or parts of it at different times during its growth. Most of these are framed engravings and there are numerous **Other Features** photographs. Our collection of portraits, busts, etc., of early Cleveland men, and a number of historical paintings makes up quite an interesting local gallery.

A Library of Cleveland Authors and early imprints of the Ohio publishers has already been started. Special collections of importance are the White library of Arctic Travel; the Page collection of the publications of our local literary society, the Rowfant Club; collections of books and papers on Prehistoric man, Archaeology, Anthropology, Geology, Geography, etc.

Kelley's Island of the Put-in-Bay Group is an exhibit of glacial action. The great groove-stones on this island are owned by this Society. On the Public Square are two cannons, one a relic of Perry's victory, and one of the Civil War, these also belong to the Western Reserve Historical Society. Other War relics are in the museum, among these the interesting and important deposit of Col. Webb C. Hayes representing the relief expedition to Peking.

The Society consists of three classes of members.

- (1) Annual or Sustaining members have full priv-

Regulations illeges, use of library, all publications, annual fee five dollars. (2) Controlling members, who alone have the voting franchise, are life members, fee \$100 (one payment), and Patrons, fee \$500. (3) Honorary and corresponding members are chosen by vote of the Trustees.

Annual meetings are held on the first Tuesday of May in the Trustees' room at the Society building, when the election of officers takes place. Full reports of the work of the year are read at these meetings and all business is reviewed and plans for the future considered.

No incumbrance can be placed upon the property of the Society, nor can its real estate be conveyed except on the written consent of two-thirds of the life members and Patrons.

It has always been the practice of the Society to hold stated meetings for literary and historical study. The library is for the exclusive use of members but students and the public are cordially welcome to consult the books in the library for the purpose of genealogical or historical research.

No books are taken from the building by members or by the public. The manuscripts, documents and source books of history are under special restrictions to insure their preservation.

Roster Officers of the Society have served as follows:

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W. S. Hayden	A. L. Withington
W. C. Hayes	S. H. Worthington

PUBLICATIONS

Following is a list of the official publications of the Western Reserve Historical Society with a brief description of each.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 1. Battle and Massacre at Frenchtown, Michigan, January, 1813, by Rev. Thomas P. Dudley, one of the Survivors. Narrative of incidents on March to River Raisin. Letter to Gen. Leslie Coombs, dated May 26, 1870. 4 p. August, 1870, 2nd ed. (reset), 4 p.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 2. Judges of the Supreme Court of Ohio, under the first constitution, 1803-1852, by Alfred T. Goodman, secretary of the Society. Notes 1787 to 1852. 7 p. September, 1870. 2nd ed. (reset), 8 p.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 3. Papers relating to the War of 1812. Selection 1 from the letters of Elisha Whittlesey, aide to Maj. Gen. Elijah Wadsworth, on the Ohio frontier. 4 p. November, 1870.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 4. First White Children Born on Ohio Soil, by Alfred T. Goodman, Secretary of the Society. Examination of claims as to Johanna Maria Heckewelder and others. 7 p. January, 1871.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 4. 2d ed. First White Child in Ohio, by the late A. T. Goodman. 1871. Revised and corrected carrying the date back to 1754. 7 p.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 5. Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio, by Col. Chas. Whittlesey, President of the Society. Based on Surveys and excavations made by the author, with description of relics. 40 p. 9 lithographic plates showing plats of the locations of mounds.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 6. Papers relating to the First White Settlers in Ohio. Letters and notes on Gen. Harmar's expedition against squatters in the Ohio Valley, 1779, and other settlements at the Salt Springs. Scioto Valley, Miami Valley, etc. 8 p. July, 1871.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 7. [Selection No. 2] War of 1812. [cont. Tract No. 3]. From the papers of Hon. E. Whittlesey, petitions of citizens of Portage Co., returns of draft Ohio Militia. 7 p. (no date). [This Tract is not marked No. 7 and is sometimes bound in with Tract No. 3].

W. R. H. S. TRACT 8. Indian Affairs around Detroit in 1706. Speech of Miskouaki, and reply of Gov. Gen. Vaudreuil, from the Lewis Cass French MSS. translation in the archives of the Society. 6 p. December, 1871.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 9. Archaeological Frauds. Inscriptions attributed to the Mound Builders—Three Remarkable Forgeries, by Col. Chas. Whittlesey, President of the Society. Exposure of the Grave Creek Mound find, the Cincinnati

Tablet, and the Newark Holy Stone, pretended inscriptions to prove the Semitic origin of the aboriginal people of the Ohio Valley. A study by the Author on the scene of the finds. 4 p. February, 1872.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 10. Annual meeting [of the Society] May 13, 1872. Memorial notice of A. T. Goodman, Secretary of the Society. 4 p. May, 1872.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 11. Ancient Rock Inscriptions in Ohio, An Ancient Burial Mound, Hardin County, O., and a notice of some rare Polished Stone Ornaments [in the museum of the Society]. Notes, Letters, description. Edited by Col. Chas. Whittlesey, President of the Society. 16 p.+2 folders, lithographic plates of inscriptions. August, 1872.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 12. Selection No. 3, War of 1812, from the papers of the late Elisha Whittlesey [following Tract 7]. 3 p. November, 1872.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 13. Papers relating to the Expeditions of Colonel Bradstreet and Colonel Bouquet, in Ohio, A. D. 1764. Selection No. 1. Notes, Scraps, Letters, 5 p. February, 1873.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 14. Same. Selection No. 2. Same. 6 p. same date.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 15. Correspondence of Major (George) Tod. (Selection No. 1). War of 1812, (Selection No. 4 following Tract 12). History of Northfield, O., by Irving A. Searles. Reminiscences of early times. 8 p. April, 1873.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 16. List of Publications. Annual Report, 1873. Origin of the State of Ohio [date of its legal existence]. 5 p. May, 1873.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 17. Correspondence of Major George Tod. Selection No. 2. War of 1812 (Selection No. 5, following Tract 15). 5 p. November, 1873.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 18. War Correspondence. Northern Frontier, 1812. Selection No. 6. (Following Tract 17). 4 p. November, 1873.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 19. Biographical Notices and Correspondence—War of 1812. Selection No. 7 (following Tract 18). 4 p. November, 1873.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 20. Discovery and Ownership of the Northwestern Territory, and Settlement of the Western Reserve. An Address delivered at Burton, before the Historical Society of Geauga County, O., Sept. 16, 1873, by Hon. James A. Garfield. [Contains list of authorities used and a valuable reference to the Margry [La Salle] Papers then being published at public expense—in which the Western Reserve Historical Society made the initiatory steps]. 12 p. February, 1874. 2nd ed. 32 p. September, 1881. 3rd ed. 34 p., with cover. Same date. [This tract reappeared under title: The Northwest Territory; Settlement of the Western Reserve. An Address . . . from the published Works of General Garfield by B. A. Hinsdale. 24 p. with cover. Boston, 1885].

W. R. H. S. TRACT 21. Sixth Annual Meeting. Report of the President [Charles Whittlesey]. 3 p. May, 1874.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 22. Battle of Frenchtown, 1813—Major (Isaac) Craig on Lake Erie, 1782—White Men as Scalpers—Geographer General [Thomas] Hutchins. [First to survey land Northwest of the River Ohio]. 8 p. August, 1874.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 23. Relics of the Mound Builders. By C. C. Baldwin, Secretary. Descriptive of pottery taken from mound near Memphis, Tenn., and in the Museum of the Society. Also: Campaign of 1813 on the Ohio Frontier. Sortie at Fort Meigs, May, 1813. Address of Thomas Christian, a Volunteer in Col. Dudley's Regiment. Narrative of Incidents of Indian Warfare. [This article with Tract 1 and part of Tract 22, might be included in the proposed War of 1812 tract]. 7 p. October, 1874.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 24. Recent donations by W. P. Fogg, Esq., with his description and Remarks. [Assyrian Antiquities, etc.]. 4 p. October, 1874.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 25. Early Maps of Ohio and the West. By C. C. Baldwin, Secretary. Description of maps collected and examined with reference to the Geography of Ohio and Catalogue of Maps in possession of the Society. [A valuable contribution to the subject by a special student of maps]. 25 p. with cover. April, 1875. Tract 26 is also bound in this cover which has general title only and page 2, descriptive matter relating to the Society.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 26. Seventh Annual Meeting, May 11, 1875. 4 p. June, 1875.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 27. Notice of Historical Pioneer Societies in Ohio. By C. C. Baldwin, Secretary. Notes of material collected by the author from pioneers in almost every county.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 28. War of 1812 Correspondence—Selection No. 8. [Following Tract 19]. 4 p. October, 1875.

This is the last of a series of War Tracts. They shed light on conditions in the Western Reserve and Lake Erie country during this period of pioneer history and they contain names of the Revolutionary soldiers and pioneers and give incidents and circumstances of interest to their descendants. The supply of some of the tracts being exhausted, it may be well to arrange for the reprinting of the set as one tract with maps, notes and index. Such a tract would be a contribution to Ohio history. It should include these eight selections, and Tract 1 and parts of Tracts 22 and 23.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 29. Tradition of Brady, the Indian Hunter—Letter of General L. V. Bierce to Judge John Barr—Letter of Hon. F. Wadsworth to Seth Day, Esq. Incidents of Border Life involving Simon Girty and telling of Captain Brady's famous leap across the Cuyahoga River at Kent. Ohio. 6 p. December, 1875.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 30. Early Settlement of Warren, Trumbull Co., Ohio, by the late Leonard Case, giving personal reminiscences and a letter of an early settler describing conditions in 1796. Also a review of the Land Title of the Wes-

tern Reserve by Mr. Case, a copy of the first deed, 1788, and a list of original owners of the Salt Tract. 34 p. and cover. March, 1876.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 31. Annual Meeting, May, 1876—Note on the Margry Papers reciting the origin and history of the movement for the purchase and publication of the documents of La Salle in which this Society took the initiative steps. 4 p. May, 1876.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 32. Western Reserve—Origin of Title. By Col. Chas. Whittlesey. Describing the papers in the Archives of the Society bearing on this point. 6 p. June, 1876.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 33. Archaeological Frauds. By Col. Chas. Whittlesey. Following the matters referred to in Tract 9; contains list of Engraved stones with illustrations and a statement as to the fraudulent nature of each. 7 p. November, 1876.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 34. The Margry Papers. Volume one. By C. C. Baldwin. A review of the documents of La Salle contained in the first installment of the collection published by the Government. 7 p. November, 1876.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 35. A centennial Law Suit. By C. C. Baldwin. Relating to the Border Service of George Rogers Clark, in the Revolutionary War. 3 p. December, 1876.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 36. Memoranda and Notes by the late Alfred T. Goodman. 4 p. January, 1877.

Tracts 1 to 36, issued separately as complete were assembled and bound together as a volume. Some of these volumes contain copies of the Trent Journal published through the medium of this Society. Later complete sets of the Tracts, 1 to 36, were issued as Volume I in binding uniform with Volumes II and III.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 37. Ninth Annual Meeting, May, 1877. Contains a report on the collections of the Society in the library, manuscript room and museum. P. 1-7. May, 1877.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 38. Discovery of the Ohio River. By Robert Cavalier de la Salle. 1669-70. By Col. Chas. Whittlesey. References to local signs of the presence of white men in the Ohio Valley noted by the author; with notes on references in the Margry papers. P. 9-15. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 39. Autograph Letters. A selection of original MSS. from the archives of the Society, relating to border affairs. Patriot War of 1838 (against Upper Canada). Mexican War, 1846-7, and letters of Zebulon Pike, 1801-11. P. 17-24. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 40. The Iroquois in Ohio. By C. C. Baldwin. Read before the Society December 28, 1868. Relating to the subject of Title. First United States Land Surveys, 1786—Seven ranges in Ohio—Thomas Hutchins, Geographer [notes by Col. Chas. Whittlesey]. P. 25-31. (No date). 2d edition reset. The Iroquois part only. P. 25-32. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 41. Ancient Earthworks—Northern Ohio. By Col. Charles Whittlesey. With plats of Surveys, Sections, etc. P. 33-39. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 42. Rock Inscriptions in the United States—Ancient Alphabets of Asia, by Col. Charles Whittlesey. Illustrated, contains list of locations of a number of inscribed rocks in the Ohio Valley. P. 41-55. March, 1878.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 43. Proceedings at the annual meeting for 1878. Tenth Annual Report—Biographical Sketches (of Dr. Jared P. Kirtland and others), p. 59-64. May, 1878.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 44. The Grave Creek inscribed Stone. By Col. Chas. Whittlesey. An examination of all material relating to this Archaeological fraud. P. 65-68. April, 1879.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 45. Numismatics. Facts in regard to Early American Coins prepared by H. N. Johnson, in charge of the department of Numismatics. P. 69-74. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 46. Revolutionary Correspondence of 1777. Letters to Maj. Gen. Rufus Putnam, 1777, in the Highlands, Burgoyne Campaign, from Washington, and others, found in the Putnam Home at Marietta, Ohio. P. 75-80. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 47. Early Indian Migrations in Ohio. By C. C. Baldwin. Reprinted from the American Antiquarian, April, 1879, a paper read before the State Archaeological Society of Ohio, in September, 1878. Contains map constructed by author showing supposed position of Indian Tribes of the Ohio Valley. P. 81-95 with cover. (No date). 2d edition, reprint under cover title: Indian Migration in Ohio, p. 15, with cover. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 48. Annual Meeting of 1878—Eleventh Annual Report—obituaries. [There seems to be some confusion in numbering the annual meetings. The Society was organized in 1867]. P. 97-100. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 49. [No title] Contents: Report of and notes (1797) on Girdled Road laid out by Connecticut Land Company "from the Pennsylvania Line to the City of Cleveland"—Letter on place of Major Wilkins disaster, 1763, Diary of Capt. James Bonner (1813-14 relating to Fort Meigs). P. 101-104. October, 1879.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 50. Indian Narrative (Wyandots) of Judge Hugh Welch, of Green Springs, Seneca and Sandusky Counties, Ohio.—Wyandot Missions in 1806-7—Diary of Quintus F. Atkins, prepared for the Society by C. C. Baldwin. P. 105-111. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 51. Gen. Wadsworth's Division, War of 1812, by Colonel Charles Whittlesey. Notes and Correspondence (War of 1812). [This Tract contains a list of Military lines and routes across Northern Ohio, also a List of persons killed in Northeastern Ohio during the Indian troubles.] P. 115-123. December, 1879.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 52. Relics of Aboriginal Arts and their Ethnological Value. Notes, Letters and Illustrations. [By Col. Chas. Whittlesey]. P. 125-128. May, 1880.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 53. Inscribed Stones, Licking County, Ohio. By Col. Chas. Whittlesey. [Further discussion of, with illustrations, the fabricated inscribed Stones. Known as

the Grave Creek Stone, and the Wyrick Find (Newark, Ohio, 1861) known as the Decalogue Stone, following previous exposure of these frauds contained in Tracts 9, 33 and 44]. P. 129-132. March, 1881.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 54. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting. May, 1881. Reports and obituaries. P. 135-150. 1881.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 55. The State of Ohio—Sources of her Strength. Address by President Whittlesey at the Annual Meeting, May, 1881. P. 151-158. November, 1881.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 56. Ancient Burial Cists in Northeastern Ohio. Description of stone tumulus and graves at Parkman, Geauga County, Ohio. Explored August, 1879, by Cornelius Baldwin. P. 159-165. April, 1882.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 57. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting. May, 1882. Reports and obituaries. P. 167-182. 1882.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 58. Biography of Ephraim Kirby, Director in the Connecticut Land Company in 1795, by Dr. Theodatus Garlick. P. 183-186. January, 1883.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 59. Ohio Surveys. By Charles Whittlesey. Points in regard to the Early Surveys Northwest of the River Ohio. P. 187-191. September, 1883.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 60. The Glacial Boundary in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky. By Prof. G. Frederick Wright. A lecture delivered before the Society, November 27, 1882, with detailed report and sectional plats of the Moraine to the Illinois Line. Appendix giving abstract of bearings of striae and grooves in Ohio. Compiled from the observations of the Second Ohio Geological Survey. Also Effects of the Glacial dam at Cincinnati along the Upper Basin of the Ohio. By Professor I. C. White, of the Pennsylvania Geological Survey. P. 193-278. 1884. [Issued bound in boards with the cover title Terminal Moraine. The survey of the terminal moraine was made under the auspices of the Society and at the expense of certain members]. (Vol. 2, p. 345). 2nd Edition, paper covers. P. 86. 1884.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 61. Surveys of the Public Lands in Ohio. By Col. Charles Whittlesey. Sketch, with outline map. P. 279-286. July, 1884.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 62. The Corporate Birth and Growth of the City of Cleveland. An address to the Early Settlers' Association of Cleveland. Delivered July 22d, 1884. By S. O. Griswold, Esq.; a study of the legal status of the city. P. 287-318, with cover. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 63. The Geographical History of Ohio. An address delivered at the Annual Reunion of the Pioneers of the Mahoning Valley at Youngstown, September 10, 1880. By C. C. Baldwin. Reprints from the Magazine of Western History. P. 319-332. November, 1884. 2nd Edition. P. 14, with cover. Another edition 12mo, p. 19, with cover. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 64. Map and description of Northeastern Ohio. By Rev. John Heckewelder. 1796. Reprinted

from the Magazine of Western History. With wood-cut portrait of Heckewelder and reduced facsimile of manuscript map original of which is in the archives of the Society. P. 333-340. November, 1884.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 65. Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting, May, 1884. Reports and obituaries. May, 1884. [Title on cover, Seventeenth Annual Meeting]. P. 343-360, with cover. 1885.

In July, 1885, the Society issued a pamphlet of 16 pages giving a partial list of Manuscripts, Field Notes and Maps, pertaining to the Survey of the Western Reserve, in the Archives of the Society. This was at first regarded as Tract 66, but afterwards withdrawn.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 66. Selection 3. Col. Bradstreet's Misfortunes on Lake Erie in 1794. [A general abstract of the papers relating to the subject. By Col. Chas. Whittlesey]. P. 361-363. July, 1886. [Following Tracts 13 and 14]. 2d Edition, reset. [Erroneously marked Tract 67]. P. 3. July, 1886.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 67. Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting, May, 1886. Title on cover gives this as the Nineteenth Annual Meeting. Reports and obituaries. P. 364-403, with cover. 1886.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 68. Memorial of Colonel Charles Whittlesey, Late President of the Society. Biographical Sketch, by C. C. Baldwin, and Bibliography of Col. Whittlesey's writings. P. 404-434, portrait, with cover. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 69. The Origin and Development of the Almanack. A paper read before the Society, January 12th, 1887. By Sam Briggs, vice-president of the Society, with notes on the Almanack in America, and four plates, facsimiles. P. 435-477, with cover. 1887.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 70. The Pre-Glacial Course of Rocky River, O. Read before the Society February 6, 1886, by Dr. D. T. Gould, of Berea, Ohio. With a map of the Preglacial channel. P. 479-490. (No date). [Tract 71 is sometimes found stitched to this Tract].

W. R. H. S. TRACT 71. First United States Land Surveys, 1876. Seven Ranges in Ohio. Thomas Hutchins, Geographer, by Col. Charles Whittlesey. [Reprint of pages 30-31 of Tract 40]. P. 491-495. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 72. The Battlefield of the Peninsula, Sept. 29, 1812. General Wadsworth's Division, Ohio Militia. By [the late President of the Society] Col. Charles Whittlesey. [In the main this is a reprint of the description written by Joshua R. Giddings, who participated as a volunteer, from the May, 1859, number of The Fire Lands Pioneer, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 35]. P. 497-504. (No date). [Tracts 37 to 72 constitute Vol. II of the Society Publications].

W. R. H. S. TRACT 73. Archaeology of Ohio. By M. C. Read. Report on State Exhibit prepared for centennial exposition. 200 illustrations, representing specimens, plats, etc. Introduction by C. C. Baldwin, President of the Society. P.

119. (No date). Reissued without Tract number, and also without the Introduction.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 74. Historical Sketch of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio. By D. W. Manchester, Secretary. P. 123-161. May, 1888. 2nd Edition, reprinted, portrait of Col. Whittlesey or C. C. Baldwin, p. 39, with covers. May, 1888.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 75. Discovery of a Palaeolithic Implement, at New Comerstown, Ohio. Report read at a meeting of the Society, December 12, 1890, by Mr. W. C. Mills and Prof. G. Frederick Wright, LL. D. P. 163-177. 4 full page plates, (with cover). [No date]. The Stone referred to is in the Museum of the Society, W. C. Mills, donor.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 76. Abstract of lecture upon The Ancient Earthworks of Ohio, delivered by Prof. F. W. Putnam, of Harvard University, before the Society, October 25th, 1887. P. 177-184. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 77. Manuscript of Solomon Spaulding and the Book of Mormon. Paper read before the Society, March 23, 1886, by James H. Fairchild, of Oberlin, Ohio. P. 185-200. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 78. Proceedings of the Twenty-Third (Twenty-Fourth) Annual Meeting, June, 1891. Reports and Addresses. P. 201-216. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 79. Case School of Applied Science. A biographical sketch of the Founder of Case School of Applied Science, and his Kinsmen. Read at Commencement, June 11, 1891. By James D. Cleveland, a member of the Society. Portrait of Leonard Case. P. 219-254, (with cover), 1891. (This Tract was Reissued by Case School from the same forms).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 80. History of Man in Ohio. A panorama. Address delivered at Norwalk, Ohio, before the Firelands Historical Society, June 25, 1890, by Judge C. C. Baldwin, President of the Society. P. 255-281. (No date). 2nd edition. P. 27, with covers. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 81. The Ohio Railroad. That Famous Structure built on Stilts. A paper read before the Society, January 15th, 1891, by C. P. Leland, Esq. An account of the first railway project in which the people of Northern Ohio were interested. P. 263-284. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 82. The Development of Cleveland's Harbor. A paper read before the Society, January 29th, 1891. By John H. Sargent, Esq. P. 285-298. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 83. The Early History of Lorain County (Ohio). Address by W. W. Boynton, before the Lorain County Agricultural Society. Elyria, O. July 4, 1876, and published originally by that Society. Reissued by the Society as Tract 83. P. 299-366. (No date).

W. R. H. S. TRACT 84. Traces of the Ice Age in the flora of the Cuyahoga Valley, delivered by Prof. E. W. Claypole, of Akron, Ohio, before the Society, February 24th, 1891. P. 365-380. (No date).

Tracts 73 to 84 constitute Vol. III of the Society Publications.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 85. Charter and Re-organization of the Society, 1891-2. Purchase of the Society's Building. Patrons, Life-members, and Corresponding Members, 1894. Frontispiece, Western Reserve Historical Society Building, Public Square. P. 22, (with cover). 1895.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 86. Farm Life in Central Ohio Sixty Years Ago. By Martin Wecker. (Reprinted from previous publications in 1892 with additions). Reminiscences, illustrated with numerous cuts. P. 23-87, (with cover). 1895.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 87. The Underground Railroad. By James H. Fairchild, D. D., Ex-President of Oberlin College. An address before the Society, January 24, 1895. Sketch of the history of the famous system for keeping fugitive slaves from the river to Canada in operation in Ohio before the war. P. 89-121. 1895.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 88. Memorial of Charles Candee Baldwin, I.L. D., Late President of the Western Reserve Historical Society. By G. Frederick Wright, with portrait. A sketch of his life, a list of his writings. P. 123-173. (With cover). 1896.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 89. Journal of Michael Walters, a member of the expedition against Sandusky in the year 1782, from the original MS. book in the Archives of the Society. With 2 full page reproductions. Edited by J. P. Maclean. P. 175-188. 1899.

W. R. H. S. TRACT 90. The Archaeological Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society. By J. P. Maclean. Published for the Society by a member. P. 189-272. Illustrations. 1901.

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